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SCHOOLING AND COLONIALISM: A HONG KONG EXPERIENCE

BY

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YEEWAH CHENG

A THESIS
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ABSTRACT

The research is intended to investigate the role of colonialism in its various manifestations in the secondary education system of Hong Kong. The research is essentially interpretive in that the interpretation is largely a reflection of my personal experience as being a student and a teacher in the Colony for the past twenty years.

The concrete context in which colonial schooling is situated is sketched in Chapter II. The theoretical context, which includes the Marxist critique of schooling, the political economy of education, the new sociology of education, and educational colonialism, is examined in Chapter III.

There are seven research questions which can be categorized into two kinds of concern: what colonial education policies are, and how and why such policies come into being. The documentary analysis of Chapter IV addresses the former concern. The Chapter also illustrates how educational policies and practices are affected by and are made in accordance with societal forces.

The way in which colonial education policies and practices are maintained in the school system are identified in Chapter V. The discussion centres around those obvious but taken-for-granted educational bureaucracies; the authority of school, teacher-student relationships, record keeping on students, grading, and tracking mechanism, are identified.

The politics of school curriculum and school knwoledge, which contributes an indispensable part of colonial schooling experience, is examined in Chapter VI. A content analysis of history examination papers and the marking scheme is conducted. The organization of the curriculum, the instructional approaches, the use of textbooks, and the examination system are revealed as procedures which render the individual student an object of manipulation by school authorities and society at large.

The research concludes that colonial schooling is a form of social control and domination. The problems of colonial schooling have their origins and solutions in the unique colonial society of Hong Kong. It is hoped that this research will play a part in persuading various concerned people to recognize their contribution in the struggles of better educational reform.

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The pursuit of the study is a meaningful experience to me. I am indebted to the Canadians because their society, culture, and the university campus provides a neutral territory that enables me to better understand what colonial schooling experience means.

I especially wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. James Parsons, advisor to the study. For the past two years, he has helped me get through difficulties and anxieties by giving me suggestions, directions, and good natured prodding. His intellectual insight and encouragement has brought the research to a completion.

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CHAPTER I

LOCATING THE PROBLEM OF COLONIALISM AND SCHOOLING IN HONG KONG

INTRODUCTION

Headmaster : Why are you wanting to enter this school?
Student : Because my own school will not give me a chance in Form V.
Headmaster : Why not?
Student : Because I failed in one subject in Form IV. I passed in all the other subjects but failed in this one by a few points.
Headmaster : Your record is good, and I notice that you have studied in your old school for many years. I see your conduct is good. Why your school not allow you to drop that one subject in which you failed and study the ones you passed?
Student : Well, you see, we have many Form IV students, so the school must expel a lot of students to reduce the number in Form V as there are not many Form V classes.
Headmaster : That is a great pity. How do you feel about it?
Student : I feel very unhappy, a failure, hopeless. I don't know what to do because my parents have spent a lot of money on my education and they expect me to get my Certificate of Education and find a good job. Please give me a chance.

(Elsie Elliot. *The Avarice, Bureaucracy and Corruption of Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Friends Commercial Printing Factory, 1971.)

When one lives in the Colony of Hong Kong, one finds many things being corrupted and one's values becoming confused. In Hong Kong, where 98 % of the people are Chinese, the opportunity to show off English ability at work or in social situations is an important signification of the level of Anglicization and thus status. However, people feel neither responsible nor skeptical for a poor command of the mother tongue.

Using English names is another symbolization. The majority of the so-called educated or schooled people adopt English Christian names. Some Chinese even bother to change their original Chinese surnames, like 'Ho', 'Yang', 'Tang', to those of 'Hall', 'Young', and 'Dunn'. They somehow believe that the anglicized surnames convey good breeding or a superior British origin.

The clashing of culture is a way of life in Hong Kong. The mother tongue, the customs, and the traditional philosophy of life that are sustained by people's feelings and emotions are precisely the things which are the least valued. The result is that Hong Kong symbolizes an aggressive conflict of culture and ideology. The ideological aggression, in addition to political domination and economic exploitation, tends to dehumanize and devalue both individual Chinese and Chinese as a group. The results are that Chinese are placed, as Memmi says, in the situation of inadequacy (1967).

All colonized people share certain attributes. Every colonized person is deficient; and everything in the colonized situation contributes to the deficiency.

Colonial education, shaped within the contexts of clashing cultures, overriding forms of domination, and changing ways of life, is one of the effective tools, if not the best tool, for 'corrupting the thinking and sensibilities of the people and filling them with abnormal complexes' (Rodney, 1976:273).

Over the past ten years, there has been renewed interest in the study of colonial education. The colonial situation and relationship are found to be exemplary to understanding of contemporary educational problems even in non-colonial societies (Altbach and Kelly, 1984). Colonial education is often used as a frame of reference in guiding other educational studies. Some researchers of colonial education (Foley, 1984; Kelly, 1984) advance critiques of colonial schooling from a micro perspective, that is, alienation as manifested in different aspects of school life. Other critics (Ball, 1983; Altbach, 1984; Clignet, 1984) research from a macro perspective which focuses on how the limitations come about and are maintained. The wealth of literature asserts the blending of politics and colonial education, the correspondence function between economic development and education, and social and cultural reproduction in education.

Characteristics and consequences of colonial schooling stand out in many aspects. These aspects include the educational policies, the school structures, the enrolment patterns, the demands on education made by colonizers, and the long-term and short-term effects of colonial schools on societal structures. Another important area of investigation, which little research has focused on, is what the schools teach. Within a structural-functional framework, most of the above problems and even education itself are taken for granted. From a critical perspective, however, all the underlying presuppositions about educational policies, structures, ideologies, patterns, and what counts as school knowledge are challenged. This research investigates the role of colonialism in its various manifestations in the field of education in Hong Kong from a variety of approaches.

Chapter II explores the context of the Hong Kong Colony and the dilemmas of colonizer-colonized relations. Using the writings of Albert Memmi, Frantz Fanon, and Dominique O. Mannoni, the psychological theories of colonization, portraits of the colonizers and the colonized, and the educational implications attached to the concept of colonial situation will be sketched.

Chapter III is a review of related literature, covering areas in Marxist sociology of education, the political economy of education, the new sociology of education, and educational colonialism. The literature review provides a basic theoretical framework which will help uncover the colonial educational mentality in the capitalist society of Hong Kong.

Chapter IV is a documentary analysis of government papers on educational policies and changes in relation to the political, economic, social, and cultural geography of the Colony. The analysis illustrates how changes in education are affected by and made in accordance with societal forces.

The research asks not only what colonial education policies are, but also what colonial educational practices consist of and why such practices come into being. Chapter V outlines the colonial education practices in secondary schools. The different aspects of educational bureaucracy; for instance, authority of school over students, teacher-student relationships, file keeping on students, work marking, and the streaming mechanisms are discussed.

In exploring the realities of schooling, the nature of curriculum to which students are exposed is as important as the various aspects of educational bureaucracy. Chapter VI, 'The Politics of History Curriculum, Pedagogy, and Evaluation,' provides greater depth on the overt and covert knowledge taught in school. Using history curriculum as an example, Chapter VI focuses on the discussion of syllabus, the principles of selection and organization of history knowledge, the use of textbooks, classroom pedagogy, and the modes of evaluation.

Chapter VII is the 'Conclusion'. In addition to a summary of the research, the possibilities and complexities of educational reforms are discussed.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research is guided by the following questions:

1. What do colonial educational policies and practices consist of from 1950 to the present?

2. Why do these policies and practices come into being?

3. How are these policies and practices maintained within the bureaucracy of education?

4. How are the development and changes of these policies and practices related to changes in the political, economic, social, and cultural geography?

5. How do these policies and practices affect the students, society, and the culture of the colonized?

6. In reverse, how do the society and culture of the colonized affect the curriculum and the educational system?

7. Using history curriculum as an example, how can the complex relationship and dilemmas between the colonizers and the colonized be demonstrated in the educational sector?

METHODOLOGY

The recent but major debate in educational science centers around the conflicting modes of research inquiry: empiricial-quantitative versus interpretive-qualitative. On the surface, it seems to be a choice between different styles of theorizing. But the decision about the proper place of an interpretive method in social theory involves fundamental choices about the proper purposes of such theories (Outhwaite, 1975:111). My study is not aimed at developing a coherent system of general social laws nor a plurality of theories. It is intended to deepen and enrich the understanding of colonial schooling that many of us already have experienced as participants. A hermeneutic-interpretive stance, oriented towards a deep comprehending and social change is pursued in the study.

The Epistemological Dispute in Educational Science

Since the late 19th Century, there has devloped an epistemological debate between the realist and idealist over what counts as knowledge (Smith, 1983). Realism, often labeled positivist, is founded on an empiricist tradition established by Newton, Locke, and Comte. Idealism, however, has its philosophical origins in Kant. Realist epistemology assumes that the purpose of science is to discover universal truth that can be communicated through a neutral, culture-free language. The theories can be applied in any situation to predict, understand, and govern human behavior. Quantification, objectification, experimentation, and distanciation between the inquirer and the inquired become essential and indispensable maxims. Contrarily, idealists believe that what humans learn about the world around them is filtered through people's interests and ideologies. Knowledge, as correct as it might be, does not reflect the true nature of the world. It represents people's best opinions about what is the true nature of the world (Tuthil and Ashton, 1983:6). Despite the unsettled nature of the debate, the realistic paradigm has gained overwhelming dominance and popularity in the world of natural and social and human sciences throughout the century.

The situation changed in the early '70s when paradigmatic problems occured within physical sciences. Studies by Lakatos and Musgrave (1970), Toulmin (1972), and especially Kuhn (1970) suggest that physical science has always been progressed through a variation of the idealist epistemology instead of the realist. The irony is that, according to Kuhn, the realist methodologies that most scientists have been attempting to replicate since the 19th Century do not exist and, in fact, never have. The idealist paradigm gains ground as more and more educational researchers refute the scientific theories and technology into educational science. Beekman (1983) describes the realist paradigm as a tool of social control and dehumanization. Eisner (1979) sums up the inadequacies of the paradigm and calls for a consciousness of an alternative methodology:

> As a result of the partial view that such methods provide, a biased - even a distorted picture of the reality that we are attempting to understand and improve can occur. In some respects this result is paradoxical because the stringent cannons of social science methodology are the product of a desire to reduce bias and diminish distortion and the claim that they may in fact contribute to bias and distortion is a severe critique, if true, and a paradox of their intention (p.1).

Toward a Hermeneutic Paradigm for Educational Science

Hermeneutics is defined as the science of interpretation or as the phenomenology of social understanding. The idea of hermeneutics can be set against the method of causal explanation of 'positivist' social thought in late 19th Century. The tradition is first associated with the names of Schleiermacher and

Dilthey. According to Schleiermacher and Dilthey, the relation of one mind to another which we call understanding is a basic fact of human life. The importance of the lived experience (erlebnis) lies not in any form of verification but in its reflexive quality. At this point, the essence of hermeneutical theory as a methodology is not concerned with establishing causal regularities in people's behavior but rather of experiencing their thoughts from the inside.

The central difficulty of the 'hermeneutic circle,' the complex issue of truth and objectivity, and the vicious distinction between hermeneutical understanding and psychological understanding have led the hermeneutical dispute further. However, Gadamer's introduction of an existential-ontological hermeneutics seems to resolve the paradoxes.

Gadamer's hermeneutic reflections represent a move from methodological to philosophical concern. In other words, before giving an answer to the question whether verstehen can be an objective method, we have to examine the conditions of the possibility of verstehen itself (Bleicher, 1982:70). In the critique of Gadamer, Habermas suggests that social phenomena and, in particular, human actions are not 'given' to the investigator in the same way as natural phenomena. Social scientists must begin with data which are already partially interpreted in the ordinary language of everyday life. The implication is that scientists cannot coherently aim to provide a natural science of human life, but rather to deepen and often qualify an 'understanding' which is already present.

Critical hermeneutics, as first exemplified by Habermas has emerged as a result of resistance to tendencies in philosophy toward objectivism, scientism, and positivism. The basis for the pursuit of a hermeneutic orientation is summed up by Bleicher in his book The Hermeneutic Imagination (1982):

> The limitations of this [scientific] approach, if transposed on to social phenomena, derive from its strengths. Monologically based investigations, which allow the technological/technocratic masters of the object, cannot account for the metatheoretical conditions underlying it: the subject of science cannot itself be completely objectified, and nor can the object of the social sciences...... The hermeneutically oriented disciplines, by contrast, do not form a system of logically connected statements which makes possible the explanation and prediction of events, but they help to extend a communicative space; they are not concerned with 'data' but with 'dantia', not given facts or instances of natural laws but human creations: words, texts, actions, which bear witness to the intentions, hopes, fears, and suffering of individuals, and where something general is manifest in the particular (p.69).

I wish to argue that education, as a social inquiry, contains a hermeneutic dimension which is both ineradicable and foundational. The way I conceptualize and describe the schooling experience that reflects not only what I am and do, but also what the human world and larger society have made me. The experience of colonial schooling, which is the central concern of the research, can be referred to the educational contradictions that I have encountered and been conscious of when being a student and a teacher, of the determinants inside and outside school, and of the ways to deal with these pressures. As Lang (1977:188) has said, to consider experience is to consider just about everything in human lives. The grasping of my experience by the reader is possible only on the basis of some pre-understanding of social phenomena.

The extrapolation of colonialism and schooling experience may be a traditional research. Questions which traditional research have been able to address have always required, if done appropriately, a certain rigor. It would not be too rigorous to measure colonization in a quantifying way. On the other hand, there are a lack of studies on the colonial education of Hong Kong, despite the tremendous research on those of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The formulation and practice of British colonial education policies in general are not applicable to that of Hong Kong because colonial education practices are strongly influenced by societies in which colonial schools are placed. I do not want to build a theory consisting of generalizations which would be difficult to apply to concrete and ever-changing circumstances; but I need a theory of the unique, that is, a theory eminently suitable to deal with the particular pedagogic situation of Hong Kong. The research is intended to undo the colonial schooling experience in Hong Kong, in its temporality and historicality, and enable the reader and people in educational science to vicariously participate in the events that constitute that aspect of schooling processes and classroom life.

Qualitative inquiry, with a basis and commitment on hermeneutics and phenomenology, offers a contextual relevance and richness unmatched by other paradigms. The use of qualitative-interpretive methodology in my research is a kind of response to changing relevances.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

1. Despite the renewed interest in reconceptualizing the relations between school and society, and the tremendous research on colonial education, there have been extremely few studies about colonial education and its legacy in the case of Hong Kong. The study is intended to fill in the 'gap' of the research in educational colonialism.

2. There are conflicting modes of evaluation of colonial education. On one hand, colonial education is characterized as a symbol of progressivism. On another, it is criticized as part of the historical pattern of Western economic, political, and cultural imperialism. Conceptualizing problems in pedagogics, particularly with reference to the colonial setting, is not easy and always controversial. Hopefully, this study can help explicate some theoretical advances in the discussion of colonial education which in turn serves as a basis for further studies.

3. This research is a case study of colonial education. Grounded on a hermeneutic-interpretive stance and the use of phenomenological writing, this research is intended to deepen our understanding of colonial education and to orient some form of social action in the future.

4. The present decade is preoccupied with liberation movements and betterment and emancipation of humankind. Current social order is open to challenge, and more people tend to use the colonial situation as the frame of reference around which they articulate their claims and demands. This tendency furthers the need to reassess and clarify the variety of meanings attached to the concept of colonial education and situation.

5. Colonialism, be it classical, internal, or

neo-colonial, is a prevalent mentality existing in our world. The study of the basic social injustice and educational inequalities is widespread and crucial to our understanding of contemporary education.

6. With the signing of the mutual agreement in September 1984 bedween Great Britain and the People's Republic of China over the future of Hong Kong, anodher phase of educational outlook is to be expected. The study of colonial education in Hong Kong will be less complicated than after the coming of new elements. Some conclusive remarks about the educational system and its consequences before the new phase will be offered.

DELIMITATION

1. The organization and structure of formal education involves pre-primary to university level education. The study is confined to investigation in the secondary level.

2. Characteristics of pedagogy and curriculum are exemplified in the variety of school disciplines. The study, covering the various aspects of educational bureaucracy in secondary schools, pays special attention to analyzing the nature and politics of the history curriculum.

3. The educational history of Hong Kong starts from 1840 to the present whereas the study is confined mainly to the recent decades of the 1950s to 1980s.

LIMITATION

1. One of the documents, The 1974 White Paper on Education: The Educational Policy in Hong Kong Over The Next Decade, is a Chinese translation of the English original. The researcher cannot obtain the English document at hand. The original wording of the Paper cannot be exactly recorded.

2. Many educational policy papers and reports have been released within the period of time from the 1950s to the 1980s. Four documents - one report, one survey, and two papers - are selected, mainly because they represent four different stages of development in the educational history of Hong Kong.

3. No comparision in educational colonialism of Hong Kong and other colonial societies is attempted.

4. Educational colonialism can be examined both inside and outside of the formal school structure. As a matter of fact, education outside the formal school structure supports and reflects colonialism within structure. The study has its limitations in confining to

the formal and internal aspects of schooling whereas the external and informal areas are not discussed.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Colonialism is the state of a colony in which the aggregrate of various economic, political, and social policies by an imperial power maintains or extends the control over the other areas or people. There are three forms of colonialism, namely, classical, internal, and neo-colonial. The Hong Kong Colony is classified as a form of classical colonialism by the British.

Colonial education refers to the educational system under a colonial context.

The Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE) is an examination open to all Form V students since 1968. The qualification equals the 'O' Level GCE of Britain. There are two versions: Syllabus A and Syllabus B. Syllabus A caters for the Chinese middle school students. Examination papers are in Chinese and students are required to answer in Chinese. Syllabus B caters for the Anglo-Chinese school students. Examination papers are in English and students are required to answer in English.

Junior secondary education refers to the first three years of education in a secondary school, which include three grade levels: Forms I, II, III. Junior secondary education is equivalent to junior high education in America or Canada.

The Junior Secondary Education Assessment (JSEA) is an examination open to all third-formers which was introduced in 1978 when the free and compulsory nine year education was put into practice. There are two versions: Syllabus A and Syllabus B. They are set for Chinese middle and Anglo-Chinese school students respectively.

Senior secondary education refers to the last two years of education in a secondary school, which include two grade levels: Forms IV and V. Senior secondary education is equivalent to Grade X and XI in senior high education in America and Canada. Forms VI and VII, which are equivalent to Grades XII and XIII, are usually referred as post-secondary education.

SUMMARY

Chapter I briefly reviews the context of the Hong Kong Colony in which education is placed and formulates my research problems. I approach the study from a hermeneutic-interpretive paradigm which is oriented towards deeper understanding. The epistemological debate and the gradual emergence of hermeneutics in educational science, the strengths of the hermeneutic approach, and the reasons for employing the methodology are stated.

The significances of the study include investigating into education colonialism about Hong Kong, explicating theoretical advances in colonial education studies, reassessment of the meanings of colonial education, and presenting the synthetic schooling experiences that I have encountered. These significances, however, extend our understanding of contemporary educational problems in a non-colonial society as well.

There are delimitations and limitations in the study. The study is confined to secondary education, to the history curriculum, and to the recent decades of 1950s to 1980s. There is limited use of government documents and no attempt is made in comparing the educational situation of Hong Kong with other colonial and non-colonial societies. Some terms, which are important but context bound to the Hong Kong situation, are defined.

CHAPTER II

THE COLONY, THE COLONIZERS, AND THE COLONIZED

Chapter II is an in-depth investigation of the existential place of the Hong Kong Colony and its people - the British colonizers and the Chinese colonized.

THE COLONY

A Borrowed Place, Borrowed Time

Hong Kong became a British Colony in 1842, the year that marks the beginning of contemporary Chinese history. The Colony, with a total area of 400 square miles, was acquired from China in 1842, 1860, and 1898 respectively. Most of the land area is scheduled to revert to China in 1997. Hong Kong is thus a borrowed place, existing on borrowed time. Hong Kong is also the only human habitation in the world that knows when it will die - the year of 1997 when the lease expires. The foundation of Hong Kong is typical of British imperial policy: sea power and trade. When Hong Kong was ceded in 1842, the British government contemptuously described it as 'a barren rock', which had a population less than 24,000, of whom 23,000 were Chinese (Cheng, 1976:xiv). The Colony, geographically speaking, consists of steep and unproductive hillsides. Among the 230 islands, most are small and barren. Lying at the northern limit of the tropical zone, Hong Kong has hot, humid summers and cool, dry winters. Mean January and July temperatures are about 16°C and 28°C respectively. Typhoons occur frequently in summers and cause heavy damage. Despite the rugged terrain and tropical typhoons, Hong Kong is situated at a strategic point - it adjoins with the 'South Gate' of China, Canton, and serves a major access for interaction between China and the outside world.

Hong Kong is located on the main trade route in Southeast Asia. This geographical setting renders the economy of Hong Kong prosperous and constitutes one of the most spectacular postwar developments in the world (King and Lee, 1981:ix). Economic propserity, however, contrasts sharply with the inertia in politics. Waves of anti-colonialism and nationalism which swept through China, Asia, and Africa had little, if any, effect on Hong Kong (Hopkins, 1971).

Hong Kong: A Case of Bureaucratic Politics

Being a British Colony 'constitutionally,' Hong Kong is administered under the British colonial system. John Rear sums up the administration system as follows

(1971:55):

> Hong Kong is not a democracy. Power, both administrative and executive, is in the hands of civil servants who are in law primarily responsible, through the Governor, to the United Kingdom. The people of Hong Kong can neither appoint these public servants to office nor to remove them. The members of the community who sit on the Executive and Legislative Councils do so by virtue of appointment by the Crown and not as a result of popular elections...... The constitution permits the Governor to ignore the advice of his Executive Council, while his casting vote as President of the Legislative Council means that no official Government measure may be voted down in that assembly.

All senior officials, including the Governor and members of the two Councils, are appointed from London. Functions of statesmen and party politicians have failed to develop and thus Hong Kong is a 'no-party administrative state' (Harris, 1978). There is a class and race nature of the regime in which the British and the business community shape the political context and decisions. According to a local legend, Hong Kong is run by 'the Jockey Club, the Hong Kong Bank, Jardines and the Governor - in that order' (Hong Kong Research Project, 1974:13). The first three are the biggest private enterprises in the Colony and are locally founded. The directors of the enterprises, and the Governor of course, are all British.

By constitution, there are bans on political parties and trade unions. People are not entitled the right of free assembly. There is a completely unelected legislature and a regressive tax system. Until the mid 70s, the Government maintained a budget surplus every year in spite of all kinds of economic cutbacks in social expenditures. The surplus was transferred as a reserve to London to prop up the pound. The amount being transferred was not made known to the public. There is no guarantee that the reserves would be returned. The money is seen as a price to Great Britain for her 'protection.'

Colonial administration needs open consent for its policies. After the 1966-67 riots, there were a number of legal-institutional reforms to encourage public discussion of politics and government-public communication. Two examples are the growth of pressure groups and the expansion of city district offices. The representation of these groups, though nominal and limited in power, are essential means for keeping the bureaucracy attuned to the needs and attitudes of the diffebent groups of people. Another means to attain public consent is through the absorption of elite into the administrative politics (King, 1981:127-46). The British governing officials co-opt and assimilate the non-British socio-economic elites into the political administrative decision-making bodies, thus attaining an elite integration on the one hand and a legitimacy of political authority on the other.

Hong Kong: A Study of Economic Freedom

Until the end of the 19th Century, the 'barren rock' remained a barren port with a group of scattered villages supported by some subsistence farming and fishing. The sparse population and the lack of natural resources rendered economic revolution almost impossible. Entrepot activity gradually diminished after World War II and halted suddenly during the Korean War. A transition to an industrial economy, which was not a result of natural growth and development but rather a transferred economy from Shanghai and Canton, took place (Hong Kong Research Project, 1974:21).

From 1940 onwards, influx of refugees flowed from the People's Republic of China to the Colony. By the end of 1950, the population, which had once dwindled to merely 600,000 during the Japanese invasion, rose past one million. By 1960, the population skyrocketed to more than three million (Table 1). Immigrants coming to Hong Kong were of two main groups: capitalists from Shanghai and Canton and the lumpen proletariat from Canton and other villages of the Kwantung Province. Hong Kong thus acquired a sizeable corps of entrepreneurs with capital and a suitably cheap labor force.

TABLE 1

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION OF HONG KONG 1841 - 1984

Year	Population
1841	24,000
1871	180,000
1901	300,000
1931	850,000
1941	1,600,000
1945	600,000
1951	2,320,000
1956	2,610,000
1961	3,170,000
1966	3,730,000
1971	3,951,000
1976	4,444,000
1981	5,151,000

Source: Cheng, 1982; Hopkins, 1971;
Hong Kong Reaearch Project, 1974.

The Government pursues the laissez-faire policy which creates an environment conducive to profitable investment. The government does not enact legislation to protect the basic rights of workers. In Hong Kong, there is no minimum wage, no paid maternity leave, no sickness benefits, no free medical care, no unemployment insurance, no pension, no maximum hours of work for males over eighteen years of age. The ban on child labor was not strictly observed until 1976. The government did the minimum in checking labor law abuses and always went conspiciously easy on offenders. In 1968, when the economic boom was approaching its peak, Hong Kong workers had the longest working day and the longest working week of city dwellers in Southeast Asia: 58 % worked seven days a week and 52 % worked ten hours or more a day (Hong Kong Research Project, 1974:25).

The Government herself engages in and encourages investors in making fast money. No doubt this is why Hong Kong has been called the place 'where a quick profit is a way of life.' Though it is claimed that average income was third in the '60s and remains second only to Japan in Asia since early '70s, it is not necessarily an accurate indicator of the standard of living considering the reality of poor social services and living conditions of the majority of Hong Kong people.

Hong Kong: Social Life and Development

There is a wide disparity between the wealthy and the poor (Table 2). The colonial officers and the so-called expatriate community are overpaid while local labors are underpaid. Labor cost in Hong Kong constitutes less than 20 % of the total cost for manufactured goods. This is very low considering that Hong Kong's industry is labor intensive. During the economic boom from mid '60s to early '70s, many workers had to sign an agreement with employers to forfeit their four days of holiday in a month in order to keep their income up to the minimum necessary to live (Hong Kong Research Project, 1974).

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN HONG KONG 1981

Household Income	% of Household	% of Total Income
under 400	3.11	0.15
400- 599	2.31	0.27
600- 799	1.90	0.31
800- 999	2.19	0.46
1,000-1,499	9.10	2.68
1,500-1,999	9.94	4.10
2,000-2,499	12.63	6.70
2,500-2,999	9.68	6.27
3,000-3,999	16.09	13.27
4,000-4,999	9.93	10.62
5,000-5,999	6.81	8.82
6,000-7,999	7.36	12.41
8,000-9,999	3.43	7.28
10,000 and over	5.52	26.93

Source: Hong Kong Annual Report, 1981.

Table 2 shows that more than 50 % of the people share less than 20 % of the total income while the wealthiest 5 % of the people enjoy 26.93 % of the total money. Government expenditure on social welfare, which is direct assistance to the lower class, has been kept at a constant of slightly more than 1 % of the GDP. The figure is far behind that spent in other industrialized nations (Table 3). The restraint on expenditure in the public service enables the Government to maintain a surplus budget almost every year, which can be as high as 32 % of the total revenue (Table 4).

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN SELECTED NATIONS

	Education	Health	Social Welfare
Hong Kong(1981)	2.7 %	1.4 %	1.5 %
Philippines(1978)	2.2	-	1.9
Thailand(1978)	3.6	0.7	0.7
U.S.A.(1979)	13.1	9.2	9.8
U.K.(1977)	5.5	4.7	12.9
Sweden(1979)	4.8	1.6	12.6

Source: Cheng, 1982.

TABLE 4

GOVERNMENT REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, AND SURPLUS, 1950-83

	Revenue (in million)	Surplus (in million)	Surplus as % of Revenue
1950-51	291.7	40.0	13.7 %
1955-56	454.7	52.5	11.5
1960-61	859.2	13.9	1.6
1965-66	1,631.7	-	-
1970-71	3,070.8	618.6	20.1
1975-76	6,519.5	487.3	7.5
1976-77	7,494.0	903.0	12.0
1977-78	10,233.0	1,236.0	12.0
1978-79	12,557.0	1,467.0	11.7
1979-80	16,796.1	2,923.8	17.4
1980-81	30,290.3	7,679.8	25.4
1981-82	32,887.7	7,870.9	23.9
1982-83	39,676.4	4,153.9	10.5

Source: Cheng, 1982.

The housing conditions for the majority of Chinese in Hong Kong have been labeled as 'appalling' by ecology researchers and Westerners. In mid '60s, the Government embarked on a huge public housing scheme which accommodated more than 50 % of the total population in 1981. A typical unit of the public estate is (Hong Kong Research Project, 1974):

> Ninety eight percent of resettlement tenants live in standard units of 120 square feet ie., 24 square feet per adult (children counting as half adults). Walls, ceilings, and floors are bare concrete..... and the one door leads out on to the public balcony which serves as a general thoroughfare for the whole floor. Inside each unit, there is one concrete bench, where kereosene stoves for cooking are placed. As each room houses at least five people..... cubicles and bed-spaces are partitioned off vertically and horizontally - obstructing the small flow of air between window and door (p. 29).

While the Government has a reputation abroad for being a pioneer in providing low cost housing in a massive scale, ecologists, delegates from Human Development, and local residents call the estate 'instant slums' or 'pigeon cages.' Despite the cramped conditions and overcrowdedness in the public housing, the majority of the citizens are anxious to get a unit. The escalating rent of a private flat can be as much as half or two thirds of a household income. The Government, being the owner of all land, refuses to keep down the land price and rent. Some unlucky applicants for a public housing are forced to live in temporary housing as squatters. Temporary housing is generally made of any variety of non-durable materials and is little more than huts. The lives and possessions of these people are always in danger from typhoons and fire.

The urban environment of Hong Kong conveys a feeling of unpleasant congestion, jammed disorder, and pollution of all kinds. The intolerable and inhumane living conditions foster despair, conflict, violence, and other social problems. Violent crime rose by 135 % over the four-year period from 1968-72. Hong Kong has the worst hard drug problem in the world. Despite the picturesque landscape of the Peak and the Harbour, the so-called 'Pearl of the Orient' has lost its lovely fragrance and has become immersed in the odour of social distress.

Hong Kong: The 1997 Issue

Being a borrowed place living on borrowed time, the 1997 issue imposes a temporal constraint upon the Hong Kong people. Under Hong Kong's boundary, in terms of its existential place and existential time, neither the people nor the Government could ever dream of becoming active agents in social and economic change. The British Government's position on the political future of Hong Kong seems to be that the less said about it the better.

Before 1949, Hong Kong was squeezed between a weakening China and an expanding Britain. Since 1949, Hong Kong has been under pressure from an advancing China and a withdrawing Britain. In 1955, China proposed stationing an offical representative in the Colony. The proposal was turned down by the Governor, saying that 'there was no room for two governors in Hong Kong' (Catron, 1972:409). In 1967, the former Premier of China, Zhou En-lai, spoke on the problem of Hong Kong, concluding that Hong Kong had 'always been Chinese territory' and its future would be decided by all Chinese, and definitely not by British (Beijing Review, 1967:25). In 1972, China sent a letter to the United Nations Colonial Committee requesting that Hong Kong be removed from the colonial list. Neither the proposal nor the letter has incited further negotiation between the two governments. The main ingredients of British position are inactivity and silence while China pursues a tolerant, hands off approach.

In 1980, the restraint of the two governments was replaced by active claims and negotiations. Fears and uncertainties about Hong Kong's future furrowed the foreheads of the general public. Talks continued, yet the people had not heard any news. Little was officially said beside 'tell the investors to put their hearts at ease.' People's fears were increased in September 1982, when the first Sino-British talk between British and Chinese governments was 'unhappy.' Both the British and the Chinese governments stood their ground on Hong Kong sovereignty.

On September 26, 1984, a breakthrough of 'historic significance' took place (Beijing Review, 1984:14). On that day, the two governments made a joint declaration that defined the terms under which Hong Kong would become a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, with a 'high degree of autonomy' (Beijing Review, 1984:i-xx). Except for foreign defence and affairs, which are responsibilities of the Central People's Government, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region will maintain the existing laws; be vested with independent executive, legislative, and judicial power; retain the status of an international financial centre; practise the present educational system; etc. The agreement even stated categorically that 'the socialist system will not be practised in Hong Kong' (Time, 1984:44-49). The 1997 question was somehow settled without any participation or representation of the five and a half million people of Hong Kong. Whether they find the settlement satisfactory or not, they can earnestly hope that, in the next twelve years, both sides of the governments will carry out their commitments and refrain from doing anything that is harmful to the Region.

In this section, a brief political and economic history of the Colony is outlined. Also included in it are the descriptions of the present-day political structure, economic context, social environment, and general ideologies of the people. In spite of the colonialistic element in the governing bodies, the social corruption at all levels, the class and race nature of the ruling apparatus, the political geography of Hong Kong is acceptable to most of the people for at least two reasons. First, quite a majority of the citizens have fled from Communist China, which they believe is a more repressive government. They obtain comparatively more freedom in Hong Kong's non-interventionist society. Second, the 'refugees' have opportunities for economic improvement. Hong Kong offers more than most residents in the Colony would expect or receive in China (Rabushka, 1979:20).

PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES OF COLONIZATION

Psychological theories of colonization are indispensable for grasping the characteristics of the colonial mentality. As such, the different colonization theories of Memmi, Fanon, and Mannoni are discussed in this section.

Albert Memmi

Being a Tunisian Jew by birth, Memmi belonged neither to the colonizers nor the colonized; yet, in some sense, he has shared the fate of both. Memmi refers to colonialism as a form of fascism and the pollution of the best energies of men. He admits that economic and political benefits are the fundamental incentives for colonialism, but suggests that a whole picture of the colonial mentality should comprise at least two more aspects: the emotional and ideological satisfactions. Memmi's works include The Colonizers and the Colonized (1967) and Dominated Man (1968).

In a colonial society, the easy and numerous life chances subject all colonizers to a 'double illegitimacy complex.' Every act of the colonizers create privileges for themselves while, at the same time, taking privileges away from the colonized. Actions either increase the existing distance between the colonized and the colonizer or maintain a regulatory self-justification mechanism in which the cause of illegitimate oppression is transferred to the colonized.

Colonizers usually put on a paternalistic mentality and expect respect, preference, and a suitable deterrence. However, they are mediocre in ability and conservative in outlook. They require the homeland and the Colony to be conservative in aspiration and in policy; otherwise, their superiority would be threatened. Colonizers are never adopted nor do they adopt the life of the colonized. Generally speaking, colonial personnel are stable. This fact has intolerable effects on the colonies. The colonized, according to Memmi's own reflection, are wholly remolded in character and conduct by the colonial situation (Memmi, 1967):

> I was Tunisian, therefore colonized. I discovered that few aspects of my life and my personality were untouched by this fact. Not only my own thoughts, my passions, and my conduct, but also the conduct of others towards me was affected (p.vii).

Frantz Fanon

Fanon, a famous psychiatrist and liberation movement leader, had a violent and short lifetime in the French Colony, Algeria. His thoughts were strongly influenced by Aime-Cesaire and Jean-Paul Sartre. He wrote three famous books on colonialism, especially that of the French people in Algeria. The books are: The Wretched of the Earth (1963), Black Skin, White Masks (1967), and A Dying Colonialism (1967).

Colonization, according to Fanon, is a concomitance of racism and slavery. It brings dehumanization and deculturalization to both the colonizers and the colonized. The juxtaposition of the White and the Black races has created a massive psycho-existential complex: a white-skin psychology for the colonizers and a white-mask psycho-pathology for the colonized.

The colonized have a split personality and a twofold liability. They hate; yet, they admire passionately the colonizers. They hate being oppressed; yet, they accept it, putting the blame on themselves. They realize that they are being discriminated against; yet, they conceive of being protected. These contradictions do not dispose them to action. Lack of action explains why upheavals on the part of the colonized are usually prolonged or suspended for later.

Fanon insists that all the psychological complexes mentioned above are man-made. No evidence can be found that points to any real supremacy of the White. As such, no natural inferiority is evident in the psyche of the colonized. According to Fanon, then, the oppressive society cannot be improved by changing man; but rather, society has to be changed, and then only by violence.

Dominique O. Mannoni

Mannoni, the author of Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization (1964), has been a French civil servant in Madagascar and a professor of philosophy in the

University of Lycee. He develops a new theory of the causes and cures for colonialism, which differs greatly from those of Memmi and Fanon. First, he declares that there are inherent differences between the personality and psychological heredity of the colonizers and the colonized. The differences do not emerge from the colonial situation but in the traditional culture and social environment.

All Europeans living in their mother countries, Mannoni says, suffer from an unconscious but deeply-embedded inferiority complex, which is a direct result of the unresolved infantile complexes in adolescence. On the contrary, dependency complexes of the Malagasy people prevail because they have traditional beliefs in the respect for ancestry. Colonialism is thus a collision between Crusoe and Man Friday, between Prospero and Caliban, and is a benevolent paternalism. Unlike Memmi and Fanon, Mannoni claims that the colonial mentality has deep roots in the self-psyche of mankind. He assumes the existence of an a priori dependency complex of all Calibans and an overcompensation impulse of the Prosperos, who are the prototypes of European colonizers. They are drawn to the colonies, not for profit but for other psychological satisfaction. This, according to Mannoni, makes the colonizers even more dangerous. While

Memmi and Fannon worked for political and economic reforms in order to improve mankind and colonial society, Mannoni proclaims that all colonial problems are primarily psychological and will not be resolved by political means. While Memmi and Fanon devoted themselves for the independence movements of the colonies, Mannoni condemns the post-war reforms and independence in Madagascar which, according to him, evoked a strong sense of abandonment and betrayal among the Malagasies.

Mannoni suggests that colonizers have multifarious characteristics. They cannot accept men as they are. They have an urge to dominate, but lack an awareness of the world of others and that these others have to be respected. They readily accept dependence, but fail to understand that the dependent attitude does not necessarily imply gratitude. Mannoni's theory, in summary, is a kind of reactionary and reductionist rationale which preempts all experience and psyche to an overcompensation mechanism.

The theories of Memmi, Fanon, and Mannoni all point to the dialectical relations between the colonizers and the colonized. Colonizers manipulate the race and color difference and create for themselves a superiority complex. The colonized accept the difference and internalize an inferiority complex. The two groups of people are chained in an implacable dependence and a relationship which molds their behavior and dictates their respective conduct. The more freely the colonizers breathe, the more the colonized are choked.

THE PORTRAIT OF THE COLONIZERS IN HONG KONG

The colonizers in Hong Kong are from Anglo-Saxon England which is, comparatively speaking, a very ethnocentric and class-minded society. The glorious history of the Anglo-Saxon and Commonwealth empire, extending to the five continents, reminds the English as a people of their nation, nationality, and nationalism. The racism that predominates the actions of the British colonizers in Hong Kong owes its roots to historic as well as contemporary social factors.

Geographically, the highest part of the Hong Kong Island is 'the Peak.' The scenic view from the Peak, overlooking the Victoria Harbour, has earned Hong Kong the name 'Pearl of the Orient.' Being not far away from downtown but freed from congestion and pollution, in addition to its cooler climate in summertime, the Government declared it a special zone reserved for Europeans in 1904. The Peak, then dotted with British bungalows and villas, looks down on both the buildings and the people of Hong Kong. The Peak and the surrounding environment is a microcosm of their prestigious daily life and activities:

> Health-conscious Europeans strode its road and pathway, walking-stick in hand and dog at hill; European governess or amahs were to be seen shepherding small doves of Europeans children..... The Peak even had its own police station, with a European sergeant or inspector in charge, usually a friendly and subservient factatum who saw to it that Peak standards were maintained. Thus when the taipan or official steepped off the Peak Tram at the Victoria Gap Station, his journey home from work, he was in Surbition or Wimbledon, in an atmosphere as truly British as roast beef or muffins (Lethbridge, 1978:174).

The English colonizers remain distinct and separate from the Chinese colonized. In the Colony, the British live on the Peak while the Chinese cling on the lower levels. On one hand, the British claim their respect and attempt to preserve the traditional heritage and cultures of the colonized. On another, they despise the Chinese for their overcrowdedness, poor sanitary system, and contagious diseases. They cannot tolerate the local education system. They accuse the Colony of promoting physical and moral corruption of their young generations. Few British adolescents stay in the Colony because, in the words of an offical handbook:

> Children can safely remain in the Colony until they are 8 or 9 years old though, if left much in the charge of native servants they are likely to suffer through lack of discipline and proper training. The vigor and development of Europeans between the age

> of 10 and 20 are likely to be impaired by any extended residence in Hong Kong (Handbook, 1921:5).

Between the colonizers and the colonized, there exists a precarious element: the Eurasian community. Early British settlers had Chinese women as their mistresses or concubines. Their offspring were named Eurasians and shared characteristics of being locally-born, some degree of Anglicization, and considerable English proficiency. With a small patrimony by their putative British fathers, the mixed-bred children could be sent to the Government Central School or other missionary schools which catered to the local well-off class. As a rule, they obtained good positions in commerce and in the Government. Their existence and life chances reflected partly the privileges of the Anglicized and partly the deprivation of the Sinicized in the Colony.

The privileges and overprivileges that the colonizers enjoy in Hong Kong are justified by racist explanations. The Peak is seized upon because its cooler climate suits the British who are from temperate regions. The positions of directors of various departments are reserved for the British because no colonized people are considered learned enough to qualify. This discriminatory practice has been upheld until the '80s. British recruits with GCE 'O' Level education attainment is viewed as equal to a Chinese holding the 'A' Level. Discriminatory employment and other policies are founded on the myth that the British are culturally superior and more intelligent than the Chinese. A study of the eighty-five cadets - administrative grades of officer in Hong Kong Government Service before 1941 - revealed that they were only mediocre in academic and other professional performace (Lethbridge, 1978:31-51). However, all of them held important positions: three were Governors, five were High Commissioners, two were Chief Justice, four became Colonial Secretary.

The career of William Goodman (1847 - 1928), who became Chief Justice of Hong Kong in 1902, is exemplary and suggestive. Goodman was an ordinary barrister in England. For years, he had not been notably successful. He writes:

> I began to feel anxious about my professional outlook ..... I began to wonder whether it would not be better to look out for some appointment in the colonies (Goodman, 1907:52).

He wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, soliciting nomination to a legal post in a colonial judiciary. His request was accepted and he embarked on a new career as a colonial civil servant. He arrived in Hong Kong in 1899 as Attorney General and was promoted to Chief Justice in 1902. All in all, he was a man without great gifts, but he had a satisfactory career in Hong Kong which was unattainable in his homeland.

In this section, the general portrait of the colonizers in Hong Kong is outlined. The British colonizers, generally speaking, can be categorized into three main groups: government officials, professional class, and merchants. These foreign people come to Hong Kong for a number of reasons - money, wealth, status, and privileges. The government officials usually have mediocre curricula vitae and are conservative in outlook. They are overpaid in terms of money, status, privileges, and psychological satisfaction.

THE PORTRAIT OF THE COLONIZED IN HONG KONG

In this part, a theory of psychoanalysis and data from several researches concerning Hong Kong people's attitude toward the colonial government are attempted. These studies, I think, are helpful in understanding the political culture of the Chinese people in the Colony.

According to Freudian theorists, a baby at birth is forced to lose the state of oneness with its mother. The first nurturer - the mother - is neither benevolent nor reliable and, very often, becomes the point on which the baby projects his/her deepest feeling of ambivalence about life. In 1842 when Hong Kong was ceded, the state of oneness with Motherland China was lost. The following fifty years were a period of violent history between mother and the possible father - the United Kingdom. The Father was in grandeur while the mother, China, was in decline. Father was at the zenith in terms of political and economic power while mother was at her worst. The mother then becomes the point on which Hong Kong people projected their deepest feeling about life - pain, fear, uncertainty, death. The negative feeling was deepened with the emergence of the new mother - Red China - in 1949, which symbolized authoritarianism and constraint. More and more people fled from her.

The incapacity of the Motherland was particularly evident due to the internal instability and turmoils over the past thirty years. This ambivalent relationship should be regarded as an important reason for the political apathy of the Chinese people in Hong Kong.

Before the 1970s, Chinese people considered Hong Kong as a life boat and not a permanent place for their settlement. The development and consolidation of this thought owed to various reasons: that people were not locally-born; the instability in Mainland China; the repressive mechanism of the colonial government; and the relatively slow-growing economy. Conditions have been improved as a result of economic progress since the late 1960s. The people's vision of the Colony and their outlook for the future became more stable and positive. A research by King and Lee (1981) is discussed here. The research inquired into the political culture of Kwun Tong, a newly developed industrial community with a population of about 500,000 by the time the research was conducted. The research indicates that the attentiveness of Hong Kong people to political activity is very low. The percentage of people who 'follow politics regularly' is 6.6 % (Table 5). The perception of people as active participants is low (Tables 6 and 7).

TABLE 5

AWARENESS OF POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS IN VARIOUS NATIONS

Statement: "How often do you follow accounts of political and government affairs."

	U.K.	U.S.	West Germany	Hong Kong
Regularly	27 %	23.5	34 %	6.6 %
From Time to Time	53	45	38	2.5
Never	19	32	25	50.0
Other & Don't Know	1	1	3	0.9

Source: King and Lee, 1981.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE WHO SAY THEY CAN DO SOMETHING ABOUT AN UNJUST GOVERNMENT REGULATION IN HONG KONG

Statement: "Can you do something about an unjust Government regualtion in Hong Kong?"

Who Say They Can	Percentage
A great deal	0.9
Some, but not much	13.1
Nothing at all	81.9
Other	0.6
Don't Know	1.1
No Answer	2.3
	99.9

Source: King and Lee, 1981.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE WHO SAY THEY CAN DO SOMETHING ABOUT AN UNJUST GOVERNMENT REGULATION IN VARIOUS NATIONS

Statement: "Can you do something about an unjust government regulation in your country?"

Nation	Percentage
U.S.A.	76.0
U.K.	70.0
West Germany	55.0
Italy	39.5
Mexico	45.0
Kwun Tong (Hong Kong)	14.0

Source: King and Lee, 1981.

King and Lee elicit the non-revolutionary character of Chinese people throughout history as the major reason for the passivity of the Hong Kong people toward politics. However, they tend to neglect the ambivalent political relations existing among Hong Kong, China, and Great Britain and the repressive aspect of colonial mentality, which have been discussed in this Chapter.

Colonized Chinese are second class people. People born in Hong Kong hold British passport with second-class citizenship. Despite the designation of second class, they enjoy far greater benefits than Chinese people not born in Hong Kong. The discriminatory policy enforces senses of inferiority on Chinese in the presence of those holding British passports, senses of inferiority on the British Chinese in the presence of those first-class British.

This section outlines the characteristics of the Chinese colonized people in the Colony. All colonized people have much in common; but, what makes the Chinese people distinguishable from other colonized group is their choice to be colonized. Since the establishment of the Crown Colony in 1842, people can return to Mainland China whenever they want to. As a matter of fact, more and more people have been fleeing to the Colony during the past century.

A LITERARY THEORY OF THE DILEMMAS BETWEEN THE COLONIZERS AND THE COLONIZED RELATIONS

In recent years, literary theory has become an important methodology in human science research. With a complex combination of knowledge in anthropology, psychoanalysis, phenomenology, hermeneutics, and structuralism, literary theory proves helpful in revealing the largely concealed and deeply entrenched structure of social relations and ideology of contemporary society.

This section is intended, through literary criticism, to generate some profiles on the relations between the colonized and the colonizers in Hong Kong. Three novels and one biography are chosen. _Taipan: A Novel of Hong Kong_ and _The Noble House: A Novel of Contemporary Hong Kong_, both written by James Clavell, are particularly relevant in the study for two reasons. First, they are concerned about the political setting, economic nature, and social relations of the Colony. Second, they cover the history of the Colony from 1840 to the 1960s. _Taipan_, a title given to the supreme leaders of the British traders in Hong Kong, is about how the early British settlers visioned their benefits in building up the Colony. _The Noble House_, actually a continuation of _Taipan_, tells us how the Colony has developed into an important city after a century of colonization.

The Painted Veil, written by Somerest Maugham, is set in the 1920s. Through the love story between a pretty British woman and the Assistant Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong, we are told of the life, life style, and life expectations of the British colonizers. The last text, *Clara Ho Tung: A Hong Kong Lady, Her Family and Her Times*, is a biography of the wife of a distinguished Eurasian, Robert Ho Tung. The biography discloses how the Eurasians stand between the colonizers and the colonized people in Hong Kong. The excerpt from *The Noble House* highlights the colonial situation in Hong Kong:

> Now Dunross was clear for a short stretch and could see that the snaking road ahead was empty. He jammed his foot down, slid some corners, usurping the whole of the road, taking the straightest line, using hand and eye and foot and brake and the wheels in all of him. Ahead, suddenly, was an oncoming truck from the corner and his freedom vanished. He geared down and braked in split-second time, hugging his side, regreting the loss of freedom, then accelerated and was away again into more treacherous bends. Now another truck, this time, ladened with passengers, and he waited for a few yards behind, knowing there was no place to pass for a while. Then one of the passengers noticed his number plate 1-1010, and she pointed and they all looked, chattering excitedly one to another, and one of them banged on the cabin of the truck. The driver obligingly squeezed off the road onto the tiny shoulder and flagged him on. Dunross made sure he was safe then passed, waving them with a grin. More corners, the speed and the waiting-to-pass and the passing and the danger pleasing him. Then he cut left into the Magazine Gap Road, down the hill, the bends trickier, the traffic building up now and slower. He overtook a taxi and jumped three cars very fast and was back in line though still over the

> speed limit when he saw the traffic motorcycle policeman waiting ahead. He changed down and passed them going the regulation 30 mph. He waved good naturedly. They waved back.
> "You really must slow down, Ian," his friend, Henry Foxwell, Senior Superintendent of Traffic, had said recently. "You really should."
> "I never had an accident - yet. Or a ticket."
> "Good God, Ian, there's not a traffic copper on the island who dare give you one! You, the taipan?"
> (The Noble House, 1981:56-7).

The excerpt describes vividly the dilemmas between the colonizers and the colonized. Taipan raced and drove an E- Type Scarlet Jaguar downhill while the lumpen Chinese stacked together on a truck uphill. Taipan raced bends, slid corners, jumped the other cars and usurped the whole of the single lane of the road while the truck driver obligingly squeezed off the road onto the tiny shoulder in order to flag him on. The number plate 1-1010 means something for Taipan and the other road users. The car, the plate, and the way Taipan and other road users drove assume certain things about their rights and obligations towards each other.

A colonized society is an unjust and diseased society. In Taipan, we are told of the power struggle, wealth, competition, class rivalry, racial hatred, poverty, contagious disease, and typhoons. These problems remain unresolved for a century. In The Noble House, there is economic war, shifting alliances, attacks on banks and airlines, partial truces, parleys at lavish parties, kidnapping, and murders. In The Painted Veil, Hong Kong is depicted as a nasty Chinese city, a violent city, and a cholera-decimated city. All people 'live on the edge of the catastrophe all the time: fire, flood, plague, landslide, riots -- except the Peak' (The Noble House, 1981:227).

British people hang on in the Colony but crowd around a particular zone - the Peak and the Victoria Harbour downtown. The first Taipan originally settled in downtown but moved to the Peak later. His twelfth successor kinsman monopolized quite a large part of the property on the Peak and the heart of downtown. The main characters in The Painted Veil lived on the side of the Peak and looked on the Peak whenever they went out on the veranda. Clara Ho Tung and her family lived on the Peak though they experienced a certain measure of discrimination.

Yielding most of the benefits and privileges, the British find that 'the Colony is not a place to live, but a place of transit' (The Noble House, 1981:227). Taipan's wife, successor son, and brother hated the Colony with all their hearts. In The Painted Veil, Kitty was unhappy and had a painful life until the day she left the Colony. She left Hong Kong but went to another British colony in Africa for the meaning of life.

Violence is everywhere. Violence is every day. Everyone in the Colony is violent. However, all violence turns inward. Chinese people were dying hundreds a day and hardly any of those who were attacked by the disease recovered from it (The Painted Veil, 1953:68-9). Gorden Chen, whose mother was violated by Taipan, felt very proud of it. This incident is truly examplary of the black skin-white mask psychology which Fanon describes: 'The white man violated my mother, my mother must be beautiful' (Fanon, 1968). The concubine of Taipan was whipped nude on the floor; however, she regarded it as an invaluable gift by Taipan (The Taipan, 1966:348-9).

There is a great division between the British and the Chinese community and a even greater division among the Chinese. 'Half the population is Communist, half nationalists, and they hate each other in a way no European can ever understand' (The Noble House, 1981:227). The colonial mentality of 'divide and rule' is evident throughout the three novels.

Social roles assigned to the British and Chinese are in great contrast. In Taipan, Chinese are described with reference to the lower class of all kinds: coolies, amahs, whores, opium smugglers. In The Painted Veil, Chinese are described with relations to beggers, cholera-infected coolies, domestic servants. The British, however, occupy the major upper class of the Colony: the Governor, taipans, police superintendent, various department heads, professionals, and businessmen.

In the course of reading the novels, voices from the Chinese were unheard. Whenever the Chinese spoke, it was pidgin English; and whenever the British spoke to them, it was intentionally pidginized. Any speech act performed by an individual is, to a great extent, a representation of his power, social relation and ideology. Chinese are inferior because their langauage use can be symbolized as 'pidgin.' Command of English becomes a race and a class indicator.

Regardless of whether the servants are old or young, male or female, they are called 'boy.' The word 'boy' refers to ignorance or low occupation. The Chinese who appear in the novels are usually people without names. Gorden Chen, the highest in rank and social status among all Chinese, was called a 'boy' in the presence of the British community while he addressed all British 'sir.' He was always referred to a half-caste bastard. Europeans who consorted with Gorden Chen openly would be considered as unvirtuous.

British colonizers are very cautious of their superior position. They act superior so as to put the 'inferior' in a disadvantaged position. Nobody ever doubts the extent of the British opium trade. As such, Taipan is regarded as protector and pioneer for all the people of Hong Kong. During the official ceremony of the cession of Hong Kong as the Crown Colony, Taipan addressed the Hong Kong Island and all people on the island, saying:

> And we've something special to offer as well, if you'll take it. And if it's na defied in the giving. You're British soil for better or worse. We'll cherish you and make you the centre of Asia - which is the world. I commit The Noble House to the plan. If you turn your back on us you'll be what you are now - a nothing barren flyspeck of a stinking barren rock - and you'll die. And last, if the Noble House ever turns its back on you - destroy it with my blessing' (Taipan, 1966:54).

The British had done a lot for the Colony; yet the Colony was a difficult place for them.

SUMMARY

In Chapter II, I focus on the different aspects of life experience of the Chinese colonized people living in the British Colony. The experience includes temporal and spatial constraints, political bureaucracy but domination, economic freedom but exploitation, social development but injustices, ideological encounter but aggression, and most of all, the dilemma relationship with colonizers and colonizers' culture.

The experience is concluded through a variety of approaches. In section 1, data from several empirical studies are employed to review the general context of Hong Kong. Psychological theories of colonization, which highlight the common characteristics of colonial societies and the people, are discussed in section 2. Using the theories as frames of references, the portraits of the Hong Kong colonizers and colonized are elicited in sections 3 and 4 respectively. Through literary criticism, more profiles on the relations between the two groups of people are generated in section 5.

What life experience is like dictates and represents what schooling experience is and is not. As we live life, we live curriculum (Grumet, 1982). The life experience of temporal and spatial constraints, political domination, economic exploitation, social injustices, ideological aggression, and dilemma relations with the British are reflected in the schooling experience as well. The investigation of these experiences in schooling is the primary concern of Chapters IV, V, and VI.

Chapter III is a review of literature which provides a theoretical background in conceptualizing the research questions.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter includes rewiews of (1) Marxist sociology of education, (2) political economy of education, (3) new sociology of education, and (4) educational colonialism.

Marxist sociology of education provides a critical theory of the history, structure, content and functioning of schooling. It also offers a macro perspective in uncovering the dialectical relationship between education and the contexts in which education is situated.

Educational critique based on the political economy of education is one branch of the Marxist tradition. It has as its central focus the reconceptualization of the relations between education, state, and economy. The political economy of education is more than just 'economics' in the conventional and narrow sense. It is a theory of fundamental societal relations, stressing the economic role of education institutions. Another reason for utilizing the perspective of the political economy of education in this research is because of the postwar spectacular economic development of Hong Kong.

The new sociology of education complements the political economy theory in that it leans more heavily on a cultural and ideological orientation of education. The new sociology has a particular concern in challenging prevailing conventional wisdom and commonsense view of the education situation. It injects a note of uncertainty into a world of taken-for-granted educational categories. The school has three main concerns: the actual and hidden content of schooling, the process of teacher-student interaction within classroom, and the commonsense categories that educators, students, and sociological researchers use to order, guide, and give meaning to their actions. These three areas, as Altbach and Kelly (1984) have mentioned, are the most essential aspects; yet they are neglected by researchers in studies of educational colonialism. The methodology the new sociologists pursue is generally the hermeneutic-interpretive approach.

The section of this Chapter that concentrates on educational colonialism is inseparable in the literature review, especially considering the fact that this research is concerned about colonial schooling experience. However, there are no particular studies or documents having direct focus on Hong Kong among the sea of literature. Brief overviews of educational colonialism as a whole and British colonial education policy in specifics are discerned.

MARXIST SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

There has been an explosion in Marxist theories since the late 60s. New texts and interpretations appear and attract more educationists to lean on some of its useful concepts, especially that of viewing the crisis of education as related to the deeper contradictions of our society. It is on this premise that more and more educationists begin to reconceive teachers and students, schools and education in relation to other elements of the social whole, the totality (Sarup, 1978:107).

The ideologies of Marx and Lenin, the founders of the Marxist tradition, will be discussed. Antonio Gramsci and Henry Giroux merit discussion because their contributions in extending the concept of 'school as hegemonic' are significant. Concepts of knowledge and education as expounded by Marx, Lenin, Gramsci, and Giroux will be the primary focus in the literature review, though it is impossible not to touch on some points they make about man and society as well.

Karl Marx

Marx's social thought is grounded on a combination of dialectical materialism, an active model of man, and the relational concept of society. He views social phenomena and individual behavior such as religion, family, art, and education as particular modes of production which are definite forms of expressing human life. During the operationalization of human activities, the State always exerts repressive force which distorts the perfectability of man on one hand and debases the capitalist system on another. The State, emerging from the relations in production, does not represent the common good of the people. Rather, it is the political expression of the dominant class. Given the analysis that the State is the major organ of class rule, it is not surprising that Marx does not assign an important role to education under capitalism.

On several occasions, Marx has expressed ideas about the concept of knowledge, its true meaning, its manner of acquisition, and the relationship between theory and practice. Knowledge, according to Marx, can be characterized as follows: it is always changing and developing; it is not out there or given but determined by historic situation; human action is the basic prerequisite for its acquisition; the relationship between knowledge and people, and between knowledge and society is in a dialectical spiral of change. Actions lead to knowledge and knowledge leads to action which leads to knowledge again. The essence of knowledge is the mirror reflection of the external world projected into the human brain via the senses (Lofstedt, 1980:33).

Marx places education in the superstructure, functioning as an ideological instrument of the state apparatus. In discerning the emergence of public education, Marx considers it a concession to the working class, opposed by capital owners on the grounds that education interferred with children's work (Carnoy, 1980:10). Marx also provokes an early combination of productive labor with education, which is often referred to polytechnic education, for at least three reasons. First, it is a means to increase learning efficiency and working competence. Second, it is seen as one of the most potent means of the transformation of the present-day society (Carnoy, 1980:10). Third, Marx conceives polytechnism as fostering all-round, fully developed human beings. The principle of polytechnic education, according to Marx, embodies idealistic functions of education, which are pedagogic-epistemological, economic-professional, and human-developmental.

V.I. Lenin

Lenin states that education must be 'political' because it serves the interest of the production system and the ruling class, as well as becoming a necessary tool for building up socialism by the proletariat. Unlike Marx, Lenin recognizes a greater relation between bourgeois education and the political apparatus. Formal education, according to Lenin, can be an important means in combatting bourgeois culture and enlightening the masses.

Polytechnic education with particular focus on vocationalism is strongly provoked and practised in Soviet Union during Lenin's time. Marx's original notion of the development of all-round and fully developed human beings, in education polytechnism, is undermined in Lenin's educational policy.

Lenin's epistemology has been named the 'reflection theory.' The theory contends that sensations are the sources of man's knowledge of the objective world and serve as a link between consciousness and the external world. As far as school knowledge is concerned, Lenin agrees with Marx about the importance of practice and ideology in making knowledge 'valid' and useful. He criticizes the old schooling system that forces people to master a bulk of useless, superfluous dead knowledge which stuff their heads and transfer the younger generation into conformist bureaucrats (Lilge, 1977:566).

A typical example of a Leninist model on educational policy is found in his proposal to the Russian Socialist

Democratic Party in May 1917. The main points are (Lofstedt, 1980:38):

1. education of the people in their tongue and schooling at the expense of the state;
2. separation of state and church, and church and school, and secularization of the school;
3. free general and polytechnic education, and linking with socially productive labor (up to the age of 16);
4. food, clothing and school implements at the expense of the state;
5. local self-government, and selection of teachers by the people.

Antonio Gramsci

Traditional Marxists assign schooling a minor role in the superstructure. They also believe that education plays a secondary role in social change. Political and economic structures are far more important than education in effecting transformation or revolution. Not until Antonio Gramsci's conception of educational hegemony appears is schooling seen as an integral component of social change.

In Gramscian term, hegemony refers not only to the economic and political control exercised by the dominant class, but also to its success in projecting its own particular way of seeing life and the world, so that this is accepted as 'common sense' and part of the natural order by those who are in fact subordinate to it (Sarup, 1982:62). Hegemonic control is not exercised through any physical or legal coercion but depends on the 'false consciousness' of the working class. Various institutions of the superstructure such as the church, the press, and in particular the school, which are also known as 'civil society', are important agents in transmitting false consciousness to people.

Gramsci cannot accept State schools as having little relevance to bourgeois domination. Rather, schools are essential to develop 'traditional' and 'organic' intellectuals and thus give homogenity and legitimacy to the dominant class. The educational strategy, then, is the creation of counter-hegemony to develop and mobilize organic intellectuals towards the working class.

Gramsci conceives that crucial school reforms are not curricular, but structural. The direction of change is toward a replacement of segregated secondary schools by schools which comprise different social and occupational strata (Entwistle, 1978:29).

Henry Giroux

Being a critical theorist of education, Giroux is categorized under the Marxist tradition for two reasons. First, Giroux has mentioned explicitly that the essence of the problematic underlying his critique of schooling is drawn primarily from the tradition of Western Marxism, which includes the works of Marx, Lukacs, Gramsci, the Frankfurt School, and other neo-Marxists (Giroux, 1981:17). Second, his theory of education always touches upon the various social theories central to the Marxist tradition; for instance, theory of mass culture, state, ideology, and hegemony.

Like most theorists in the reproductive rationality, Giroux contends that schools are institutions of cultural and social reproduction. Embodied in any educational theory and practice, according to him, are the paradoxes of power and control. His works are mainly concerned with exploring and understanding how the paradoxes of power and control and knowledge function as part of the fabric of school life (Fitzclarence and Giroux, 1984:463).

Giroux probes deeply into the assertion that education can be a force for democracy. He rejects the reductionist and over-deterministic thinking in the political economy and reproductive approaches. Giroux's works always call for a radical educational theory aiming at transformation. He does not assume, however, the easiness of the reform movement. Rather, he says clearly that 'any radical educational theory must start with the recognition that radical educational reform in and by itself will do little to change the fundamental structure of society' (Giroux, 1981:79). Radical educational theory and reform are necessary, and are the only vehicles that contribute to changing the consciousness and drive teachers and students to work to change society (Giroux, 1981:79). While most Marxists focus their works on the notion of school as class domination (Marx and Lenin) or hegemonic (Gramsci), Giroux puts more effort into an exploration of the culture of resistance in schools.

Giroux is an important person in the Marxist sociology of education not only in unveiling the nature and paradoxes of education theory but also in his development of radical curriculum theory, practice, and classroom pedagogy. He promotes the notion of dialectic in his curricular theory within a commitment to emancipation. What makes Giroux the most distinguishable in the Marxist tradition is his critique of schooling within a framework of making pedagogy an emancipatory activity.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF EDUCATION

The political economy of education owes its early implications to the human capital theory. Education, according to the human capital theory, is constructed on the premise that it is appropriate to draw a parallel between education sector on one hand and commodity production and commodity market on the other (Broady, 1981:145). Unlike the traditional human capital theory, which is interested in the need for methods of educational planning and economic growth, the political economists of education assume that the relationship between education and politico-economic developments are of another and more thorough kind than the quantitative aspects (Broady, 1981:148). Political economists examine education within the context of the reproduction of capital and reproduction of society as a whole.

Historically speaking, the emergenece of state schools coincided with the rise of industrial capitalism and the need to prepare appropriate wage labor for that system. Based on this proposition, schooling is seen as the inculcation of the 'schooled' with the ideology of capitalism. Schools themselves embody many of the same social relations and reward structures as the workplace. The reproduction mechanisms involve at least three areas which are directly related to the production system. They are: skills/qualification, ideology, and social relations of production (Levin, 1981:ii). This section will explore four different perspectives within the school of thought, represented by the works of (1) the Prokla School, (2) Bowles and Gintis, (3) Carnoy, and (4) Apple.

The Prokla School

The Prokla School, which focuses on the reconstruction of Marx's critique of political economy of education, is named after the Berlin Journal PROKLA founded in 1971. The School was first set up by Elmar Altvater, Freerk Huisken and their colleagues in Berlin University. The Prokla people have made tremendous efforts in investigating how the course of capital accumulation determines the modern interventionist state - and also the development of the educational sector. The state/society is not a passive tool in the hands of a group of monopoly capitalists. Rather, it is interventionist in character. This intervention can be revealed in the following four areas (Broady, 1981:153-4):

1. general material conditions for production;
2. general juridical conditions (legislation, courts);
3. settlement of the conflict between wage labor and capital, and when necessary, repression of the working class through juridical means and police power;
4. guaranteeing the existence of the national collective capital and its expansion on the world market.

The maintenance of the above four conditions depends largely on the qualification of the labor force. With this as the point of departure in educational analysis, the Prokla School attempts to link educational policy, educational planning, and pedagogical development to the course of capital accumulation and, in particular, to the development of the qualification required of the (industrial) labor force.

Capital's interest in education, according to the Prokla School, is itself beset by contradictions. One of the many obvious contradictions is the demand of increasing higher educational opportunity to equip future labor force and, at the same time, a demand for withdrawal of increased collective consumption of education so as to enhance separate capital for capital accumulation.

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis

The release of Schooling in Capitalist America by Bowles and Gintis (1976) marks the highest peak in the study of the political economy of education. Bowles and Gintis reject the traditional liberal conception of education which assumes the egalitarian, integrative, and developmental functions in the social roles of schooling. Using a variety of descriptive, historical, and statistical sources, they contend and develop the theoretical framework that education in advanced capitalism actually reproduces social inequality rather than attenuating it, and acts rather more as a force for repressing personal development than fostering it (Bowles and Gintis, 1981:224).

A correspondence relationship is found to be parallel between capitalist production and education. The reproduction of the hierarchical and unequal capitalist division of labor is directly and explicitly dependent on the persistence of a selective and differentiated educational system. Changes in the former would result in corresponding changes in the latter, while unprecedented changes in the latter would pose threats to the former. Education is and should be conceived in relation to class interest and capitalism in the wider society.

Owing to the correspondence theorizing, Bowles and Gintis tend to see schools as black boxes simply reflecting or wholly determined by the economic forces outside of them. The major objective of capitalism in its intervention in the educational system is precisely the preparation of students to be future workers at the various levels in the hierarchy of capitalist production (1981:225). The means to achieve such a class reproduction rely more heavily on the structure or form of education than its content. Qualification reproduction during the educative process is partial and only secondary to that of the values and norms formation and internalization. The acquisition of norms, values, and mores is crucial in the preparation of students to be future workers.

Martin Carnoy

Carnoy challenges the widely held assumptions that schooling increases the incomes of those who go to school, that schooling increases students' ability to function in a modern complex society, and that a highly schooled people or society is likely to be a more politically democratic society (1974). Carnoy states:

> Schooling in capitalist society does serve as a means to higher status for a small percentage of the urban poor and an even smaller number of rural poor, but all these were not the primary purposes (1974).

Carnoy sees schooling as a form of imperialism which is 'specifically organized to develop knowledge and attitudes in the context of a particular class structure, division of labor, and relations of production' (1981:224). School socialization, according to Carnoy, has been identified as trying to fit graduates into a highly structured capitalist wage labor system - to reproduce labor power and the relations of production (1981:224). Utilizing Gramsci's concept of state and hegemony, Carnoy points out the hidden fact that State schooling in contemporary capitalist societies is class-structured and that this structure is part of the ideological apparatus of the bourgeois state and a contributor to bourgeois hegemony.

Michael Apple

Though Michael Apple is not categorizeable, his critique seems to be more in line with the political economists than with other categories of criticism. However, there are essential differences between Apple and other political economy critics. While most of the political theorists focus on the form of education in explicating the relationship between education, state, and economy, Apple emphasizes the content of education. While the majority of the political economists attempt to uncover the overt capitalist intrusions into education, Apple's works are especially important in pinpointing the logic and ideology of capital that have entered into schools in more subtle ways.

Apple advocates an economic analysis of education. However, he maintains that what happens inside the school at a cultural level must be understood before we can understand what happens outside the school on an economic level. As such, his works always involve the dynamics of what has been called 'cultural capital.' The meaning of school life experience is, to a larger extent, attached to the category of work and workplace. The logic of increasing the technical control of the workers in the workplace is found in the school setting (1981). In

Apple's term, the market mechanism dictates the content of education through what the schools teach. The commodification process has acted on the form which curricula take in schools, on the way in which curriculum reinforces the system of technical control of the labor process, culture, and the state. One of the many obvious examples is the use of pre-packaged curriculum materials in the classroom.

These forms of control enter into schools not because of any conspiracy on the part of industrialists/capitalists to make the education institutions serve the needs of capital; rather, they occur in large part because schools are a lucrative market that cannot be immune or autonomous from the logics of capitalism (1981:305).

NEW SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

For decades, the sociology of education, both in Europe and America, has been dominated by structural functionalism and empirical social research. Structural functionalism and empiricism share a common belief in the efficiency of education as a means of promoting economic growth, societal change, and individual opportunity. Under these two paradigms, educational research is 'taken' rather than 'made,' and educational problems are usually 'taken for granted.'

Dissonances and challenges to this dominant perspective have appeared since '70s. Fewer and fewer indications suggest an easy solution to economic and societal problems. Fewer and fewer people accept a romantic view of equality of opportunity. Moreover, fewer and fewer macro-sociological educational researchers or administrators demonstrate their ability to improve the educational practices and structures. The emergence of the new sociology of education, therefore, appears at a critical time and justly attracts attention from those interested in the sociology and practice of education.

The new sociology of education first appeared in England in the early '70s. It draws its academic stimulation from a wide range of sources: Marx, Mead, Mills, Blumer, Cicourel, Garfinkel, and especially Schutz, Berger and Luckman (Gorbutt, 1972). The theory of the 'social construction of reality' of Schutz, Berger and Luckman exerts a widespread influence on the large discipline of sociology. Pierre Bourdieu of France, and Basil Bernstein and Michael Young of England are progenitors of this new paradigm. They reject conventional methods and stimulate the rise of a new approach focusing directly on a microcosmic study of schooling: the content and internal operation of schools (Karabel and Halsey, 1977:45). The publication of Knowledge and Control by Young in 1971 announces the birth of a new sociology of education (Karabel and Halsey, 1977:45; Berbaum, 1977:10).

Michael Young

Young has compiled a wealth of important research in the new sociology of education. His work includes Knowledge and Control (1971) and Exploration in the Politics of School Knowledge (Whitty and Young, 1976). Young argues that, on the whole, sociologists have not 'made' educational problems. Rather, they 'take' educators' problems, and by not making them explicit, have necessarily taken them for granted.

Michael Young is critical of structural functionalism and the overwhelming 'order' doctrine which treats all problems in terms of a systems perspective. Bernbaum, in outlining the premise of the new sociology of education, illustrates clearly Young's educational ideologies and sociological theories. He says:

> Young's alternative view of the sociology of education is that it should lead to questions being asked about how pupils, teachers, and knowledge are organized. It is central to this initial stage of Young's arguments that sociologist shall not treat the dominant legitimizing categories of educationists as absolute, but should view them as constructed realities which are realized in

> particular institutional contexts. In this fashion, sociologists will come to treat educator's problems as phenomena to be explained (Bernbaum, 1977:11).

In discerning research implications, Young argues that the sociology of education must take into account the historical and situationally specific character of both its phenomena and its explanations (Bernbaum, 1977:12).

Basil Bernstein

Bernstein's sociology of education and theory of knowledge builds upon the various ideas of Durkheim, Marx, and Mead. Bernstein explicitly refers to Durkheim who regards conflict as a fundamental trait of all educational systems. Bernstein credits Mead in his discussion of the interactions between speech, self, and social roles. Bernstein's work centers around the following thesis:

> How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits, and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control (Bernstein, 1977:85).

Generally speaking, Bernstein's sociology of education can be grouped under three areas: a view of knowledge (symbolic order), a view of linguisitic dichotomies, and a view of schooling. Rather than treat knowledge as given, he considers knowledge problematic and political. The relation between power and knowledge is inseparable. The possible connection between cultural capital and class differentiation is that knowledge may become the most legitimate and is preserved and distributed by a society's cultural apparatus (Apple and Wexler, 1977:36-7).

Central to Bernstein's view of schooling is his typology of educational knowledge which consists of three message systems. They are:

1. curriculum (valid knowledge);
2. pedagogy (valid transmission of knowledge);
3. evaluation (valid realization of knowledge on the part of the students).

The interrelationship of these three message systems are based on the two forms of transmission which Bernstein calls classification and framing. The way knowledge is classified and framed embodies ideological messages. Bernstein's analysis of linguisitic codes is particularly significant in uncovering the reproductive function of school and the role of curriculum in social control. The so-called learning problems of the students lie in schools and not in the languaging abilities of the students. His sociology of knowledge has moved from a deterministic concept of culture on man to one of the interdependence of environment and individuals.

Pierre Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu is best known for his work in higher education and its role in class reproduction. Bourdieu refers to the relationship between pedagogic action, pedagogic authority, and pedagogic institution (education system) as a form of symbolic violence or arbitrary culture (1977:6). The arbitrary culture is that of the ruling class which is aristocratic in nature and relations. The arbitrariness can be revealed in the classroom pedagogy, curricular content, and the examination requirements.

The central notions to understanding Bourdieu's conceptual and empirical work are capital and reproduction system. Capital, defined as attributes, possessions, or qualities of a person and a position exchangeable for goods, services, or esteem, exists in many forms - symbolic, cultural, social, linguistic, and economic. Social life is a constant struggle for and accumulation of different kinds of capital. The educational system fulfills functions of reproducing skilled labor power (technical reproduction), and reproducing the positions of the agents and their groups within the social structures (social reproduction) through the means of cultural transmission (cultural reproduction). There is a high correlation, Bourdieu says, between the production system (economic system) and the reproduction system (educational system):

> The pertinent feature of the ES (educational system) as regards its relationship with the economic apparatus resides not in the fact that it produces producers endowed with a certain technical competence (a process in which it has no monopoly), but in the fact that it bestows on these products - whether or not equipped with a technically measurable technical competence - formal qualifications bearing a universal and relatively timeless value (1977:63).

Bourdieu's works challenge and uncover the absurdity of the past assumption that education is an undifferentiated commodity. His works focus not only on why but also how the production and reproduction systems work. Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, co-written with Jean-Claude Passeron, depicts the continuous interplay between the why and how, the theory and research. However, he assumes too strongly the consent of the working class during the reproductive and educative processes.

EDUCATIONAL COLONIALISM

Educational colonialism has been a key concern in comparative education studies for decades. Accordingly, educational colonialism can be classified into three main types: classical or traditional colonialism, internal colonialism, and neo-colonialism (Altbach and Kelly, 1978; Carnoy, 1974). Classical colonialism refers to the educational system under direct colonization; for instance, the French in Vietnam, the Americans in the Philippines, and the British in India and in present-day Hong Kong. Internal colonialism refers to the rule of colonization by a subordinate group within a nation. Examples of internal colonization are the blacks in America and the Indians in Canada. Neocolonialism refers to the new development of imperialism which emerged from American post-World War II hegemony to the third world (Carnoy, 1974:21). The following section is concerned with how classical colonialism is shaping the context of the Hong Kong educational system.

Colonial education practices and characteristics will be greatly different according to types of colonizations, to nations, and to periods of time. However, threads of commonalities can be pointed out. These include, for instance, the deliberate policy to 'divide and rule,' the emergence of elite groups for administrative work in local governments, the entailment of educational inequalities on a national basis, and the assimilation of the people of the colonized into the nation of the colonizers.

The colonial education system of the British, in comparision with others, is widely studied. The Colonial Office of the Advisory Committee on Education was established in 1929. Its main duty is to advise and report to the Secretary of State on matters of native education. Tropical Africa is the main area involved. According to the Committee, the principal objectives of education for the natives in the colonies are (Ball, 1983:243):

1. to inculçate the principle of and promote the influences of Christainity;
2. to diffuse a grammatical knowledge of the English language as the most important agent of civilization;
3. to cultivate Western (British) habits;
4. to give training in household arithematic;
5. to improve agriculture;
6. to teach the mutual interests of the mother country, and her discrepencies, the natural basis of connection and the domestic and social duties of the colored races in the lesson books;
7. to teach knowledge on wages, capital, labor, government's provision of law and order.

Philip Foster calls these objectives the 'development of habits of steady industry' (Foster, 1965). British educational colonialism has been considerably regarded as successful in both qualitative and quantitative aspects. The Committee's policies are used as guides for action (Clatworthy, 1971). It leaves specific recommendation on the educational structure as open-ended as possible. Less rigid control is exerted on the local government's policies (Asiawaju, 1975).

Whitehead (1981) echoed these ideas and maintained that, in the British colonies, of the use of English curriculum and textbooks and the creation of an elite class, are inevitable. This is because of the limitations of colonial government and local condition.

According to the characterisitics of school curriculum implemented in the colonies, three major differentiated colonial schooling policies are discerned. These are the evangelical curriculum, adapted curriculum, and academic curriculum (Ball, 1983). Evangelical curriculum is characterized by the dominance of religious proselytization and conversion. Adapted curriculum emphasizes the development of 'habits of steady industry.' Academic curriculum results from the native's opposition to the adapted curriculum. Some of the characteristics of an academic curriculum are the increasing provision of schools and further educational opportunities, and the pushing access to a Western literacy/academic education because of individual mobility aspirations.

The recent trend in the study of educational colonialism has been articulated around the issue of colonial imposition. In the past, the legacies of a colonial past are considered as consequences of colonial imposition. Conceptual theorizing changes when educationists recognize the functionally linked, interactive, and mutual conditioning nature of colonizer-colonized relationship. They take account of forms of resistance and view the history of colonial schooling as marked by the contestation between rival social and political groups with separate and conflicting vested interests.

SUMMARY

In Chapter III, literature on Marxist sociology of education, political economy of education, new sociology of education, and educational colonialism are reviewed. Various theorists of each category are discussed. These four perspectives point to the contention of 'reproduction' and 'control' theories which state that education plays a mediating role between the individual's consciousness and society at large. These theorists maintain that people's behavior and beliefs are filtered down from the macro level of economic and political structures to the individual level via educational processes.

The reasons for the inclusion of the four critiques of schooling are numerous. In combination, they provide a wealth of information on the characteristics of schooling experience in a modern society. They offer a theoretical perspective for viewing education in relation to other elements of the social totality. The reproductive and control rationalities in the different critiques imply a rejection of the liberal positivist philosophy of education. The theories themselves move from a normative theorizing to a search and commitment to change. Together they provide the possibility of a qualitative look at education in Hong Kong, which is the purpose of this study.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN HONG KONG FROM 1950 TO 1984: A DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

This Chapter focuses on understanding the major ideological and policy orientations of the Hong Kong Government torward education over the past three decades. In discussing the educational policies with regard to educational opportunity expansion, curricular development, material resources, and examinations, the social-structural forces which impinge upon educational institutions will be pinpointed. Four documents are analyzed: (1) Hong Kong Annual Departmental Report by the Director of Education for the Financial Year 1951-52; (2) Hong Kong Education Report 1955-72: The Teriennial Survey; (3) 1974 White Paper on Education: Secondary Education in Hong Kong Over the Next Decade; and (4) 1977 Green Paper on Education: Senior Education and Tertiary Education - A Development Programme for Hong Kong Over the Next Decade.

1951-52 HONG KONG ANNUAL DEPARTMENTAL REPORT BY THE DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION

The 1951-52 Hong Kong Annual Departmental Report by the Director of Education outlines the early history of educational development in Hong Kong from 1850 to 1950. In 1850, a Government-sponsored Education Committee was set up; but, little was known of the activities of the Committee except that of granting of five dollars to missionary schools every year. The Report reveals that the first attempts to provide education were unsupported and unco-ordinated by the Government. Such education as there was existed through the efforts of private and missionary bodies (Report, 1952:3). In 1881, there were thirty-five government schools and, in 1896, the number fell to sixteen while the number of missionary school increased.

In 1909, education was placed under the control of a Director of Education and, in 1920, the Board of Education was established as an advisory body to 'assist the Director of Education in Colony' (Report, 1952:5). The non-commital attitude of Government toward education made education in Hong Kong voluntary; and, in reality, much of the work of education was in the hands of missionary and philanthropic bodies and private individuals. These two characteristics remained unchanged throughout the century. Based upon the suggestions of the Report, the demarcation between primary and secondary stages of education was put into action in 1951 (Report, 1952:23). The Joint Primary Six Examination was institutionalized. Advantages of the examination, according to the Report, are numerous:

> The examination will also serve as a selective test for those who wish to pursue higher studies in government secondary schools. One particular advantage of this re-organization is that it will effect better selection of pupils who are really suited for a secondary course and thus cut down wastage. Another advantage is that it will strengthen the primary school course (p.23).
>
> The competition for places in secondary schools ensures that most are filled, and there is practically no wastage in Anglo-Chinese schools (p.84).

The Examination is seen as a benevolent and fair yardstick in judging pupils' abilities and thier futures. It guarantees no 'wastage'. Successful examinees are admitted to secondary schools while the unsuccessful will not be given the places because their abilities are shown through tests to be below the average. On another hand, the schools for English-speaking children are always vacant, with vacancy rate as high as 50% in King George V School. The Report states:

> Wastage is at its most serious in King George V School. During 1951, at least 51 % of the school population changed. The causes are the departure from the Colony of civilian families on home leave and the continual movement of parents in the Forces (p.84).

Primary and secondary school curricula are revised, but few details are known about the revision process. The general principle is to keep 'the home away from home' character of the English schools. Modifications are made to accord to the special needs of the Colony, especially in relation to its economic development:

> The curriculum and examination in secondary schools are based upon British educational concepts modified according to the special needs of the Colony. The structure of Hong Kong society is changing, the energy of its people has turned to industrial production as well as to commerce, so that a clerkship in a government office or with one of the 'hongs' is no longer the only career available to the majority of adolescents. Conservative tradition, however, still regards the acquisition of formal academic knowledge as the aim of education, but the more progressive school strives to teach intelligent behaviour and practical application of knowledge (p.84).

With the release of the Report, the curricula of both primary and secondary school levels are molded to a certain orientation in which the three basic subjects - English, Chinese and Mathematics - have thus formed the hub about which syllabi are arranged.

The Government always takes educational problems for granted. The benevolence of competitive examinations, the reliability and objectivity of the examination system, insufficient school places, and racial discrimination in alloting school places are reified. The technological and utilitarianistic measurement of educational output prevails. The interdependence and inter-relationship between education and economic development is made clear in the Report. In the words of the Report, the attuning of school curriculum to practical application in employment is a form of progressive education, while more educational opportunities is a matter of wastage.

THE HONG KONG EDUCATION REPORT 1955-72: THE TERIENNIAL SURVEY

The Hong Kong Education Report 1955-72: The Teriennial Survey depicts the educational development and changes in policies and practices over the two and a half decades from mid 1950s to 1970s. According to the Survey, the major educational problem of the period is aptly referred to as a problem of people. The Survey states:

> Immense efforts have been made to assimilate this huge population into the local economy. New awareness of employment and new enterprises in the commercial and industrial world have been developed under favourable conditions of free enterprises, the use of capital resources, and the determination and ingenuity of the people, aided by governmental support. The educational programme faces both this background of sheer numbers, and the problem of the integration of the younger generation into the life of a community which as yet is homogenous only by race, and not outlook (p.1).

The two paragraphs indicate the Government's attitude toward education. Policymakers are primarily concerned with identifying educational function with the needs of the community. The integrative function of education as proposed by Dewey is emphasized, while the developmental and egalitarian functions are overlooked. The high priority placed on the integrative adult roles in the community and allocation of roles in the production process is obvious. One gets the sense that the Government feels that it is being threatened by immigrant children and other diverse people. The following paragraph exemplifies the point:

> It is essential, however, that refugee children be given full opportuniuty in their formative years to create the necessary habits and develop the necessary skills which will further the process of assimilation. Refugee children together with all other children in Hong Kong have to be so trained and so encouraged in suitable activities that they may develop into good citizens with a respect for the community and a place in community life (p.3).

Primary universal, though not free, education was expanded over the period. The increase in numbers of primary schools also greatly increased the pressure for secondary school places. However, the Government kept the percentage of students entering secondary schools constant at about 15-20 %. In 1965, the White Paper on Education restated that the percentage should remain 15-20 %. No reasons were given why it should be so.

The problem of education of the greatly increased population has been met mainly by the efforts of voluntary agencies in establishing schools and other social welfare institutions. In 1955, there were twelve government secondary schools, thirty aided, and two hundred and fifty private. In 1965, there were one hundred and thirty seven government and aided schools, and three hundred and thirty five private ones. In 1976, the numbers remained quite the same (139 government and aided schools, 378 private schools), though the total enrolment rose by 10 %. The constant number of secondary schools is indicative of government educational policy, especially when we consider the population and age structure of the time (Table 8).

The schooling age of secondary school students falls mainly in the range of 15 years old or older. Despite the increase in the number of youths in this age group, secondary school education has not been expanded correspondingly. Owing to the great demand for school places and the lucrative profit in running private schools, the number of private schools increases, which are run as profit-making enterprises. Most of these private schools are Anglo-Chinese schools.

TABLE 8

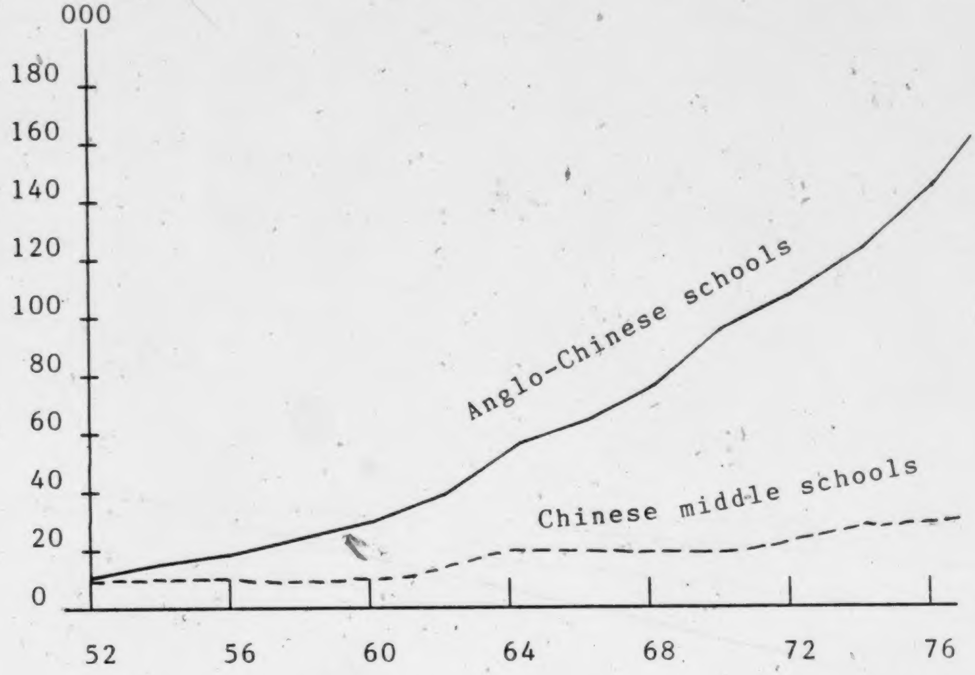
AGE STRUCTURE OF THE HONG KONG POPULATION,
1961, 1971, AND 1974

	Population		
Age	1961	1971	1974
0-14	1,277,088	1,407,949	1,408,100
15-24	368,242	767,818	923,100

Source: Hong Kong Social and Economic Trends 1964 - 74, 1975.

TABLE 9

SECONDARY EDUCATION ENROLMENT BY LANGUAGE STREAM 1952-76



Source : Luk, Hung-kay and Wu, Kin-ling, 1983.

The increase in the number of Anglo-Chinese schools as shown in Table 9 contrasts sharply with that of the Chinese middle schools. As a matter of fact, quite a majority of the aided schools and a few private schools were originally established in Mainland China and moved to Hong Kong after World War II. Owing to their early history and tradition, these schools paid particular attention to the maintenance of the Chinese language and culture in the younger generation. While the Government puts ardent appreciation on the efforts of these Chinese schools, it also makes explicitly clear that the trend for educational development should be that of Anglo-Chinese schools which adopt English as the medium of instruction. The reason puts forward by the Government is as follows:

> Hong Kong may have a particular part to play in the development of higher educational courses in the medium of Chinese. What is needed are courses which give due place to China's own cultural and philosophical background; courses which will be modern in treatment and include the results of modern scholarships; courses which will enable Chinese to remain essentially Chinese, but at the same time enter into sympathetic relationship with the modern world (p.4).

The Survey does not explicate the exact meaning and its educational implication in arousing students' sympathetic relationship with the modern world. One conceivable reason in choosing English as the instructional medium would be economic, promoting an inter-relationship between education and production. As discussed in the first section of this Chapter, the Hong Kong Government always refers to education as human resources development. This characteristic is very prevalent in the 1974 White Paper on Education: Secondary Education in Hong Kong Over the Next Decade which I will discuss in the following secton. The Survey concludes in Part I, saying that:

> It will be seen in the pages of this report that the Department has taken many steps to widen the concept of education, and to relate learning to something more than book knowledge (p.6)

Very often, the Government tries to conceal important issues either by using high-sounding vocabulary or not mentioning the problem at all. The claim in the Survey that the concept of education is being widened is one of the many examples. The claim is not justified by arguments except that of arousing 'sympathetic relationship with the modern world.'

1974 WHITE PAPER ON EDUCATION: SECONDARY EDUCATION IN HONG KONG OVER THE NEXT DECADE

The 1974 White Paper: Secondary Education in Hong Kong Over The Next Decade turns a new page in Hong Kong's educational history. In the White Paper, the Government commits itself to providing nine years of general school education for all. Subsequent policies are:

1. universal, free, and compulsory education will be extended to student's 15th birthday or completion of Form III;
2. the abolition of the Secondary School Entrance Examination (SSEE) at Primary VI;
3. the institutionalization of the Junior Secondary Education Assessment (JSEA) at Form III;
4. through the JSEA, 60 % of junior secondary school students would be given subsidized places in senior secondary education while the other 40 % can either go to private schools or for work;
5. practical or technical subjects up to 25 - 30 % be instituted in the curriculum of all junior secondary schools;
6. rapid expansion of pre-vocational and technical secondary education to attract students to the

industrial or commercial sector;
7. new policies in classroom management such as bisessional operation, rotation, floatation, extended day system, bought places from private schools, renovation of primary schools to secondary schools, building schools scheme, teacher training facilities, etc.

The White Paper does not clearly state what the fundamental aims of educational expansion are. The meaning of compulsory schooling, in the words of the White Paper, is related to the requirements of the workplace and the examination system. Expenditure in education from the Government or the public purse is regarded as a form of investment in future prosperity. Many illustrations of the point can be cited:

> The policy of the White Paper is to provide children with adequate level of education so as to enable him to work for a livelihood and serve the future society which will be full of competition over the next decade (Article 1.9).
>
> Those selected students can further studies in senior secondary while those unselected can leave school and work (Article 2.4).
>
> The Government has known that industrial education should be duly emphasized. The provision of nine years education and 25-30 % of practical subjects are the best ways to meet the increasingly high demand of industrial growth (Article, 2.11).
>
> Prevocational education is not an effective means because of its unpopularity among the parents and the public (Article 2.12).
>
> The expansion of senior secondary education is to ensure that students attain interests in practical subjects and thus can find a job in the industrial sector (Article 2.14).

> The Government policy towards expansion of practical subjects and industrial education is to co-operate the education with the future needs of Hong Kong (Article 2.15)

Vocationalism in junior secondary education is a significant policy in the White Paper. The shortsighted demand for cheap and uneducated labor, during the past two decades of 1950s to early 1970s, is replaced by a policy of developing and improving the working class through education. Philip Foster, an expert in colonial education studies, articulates the theoretical fundamentals of steady development of industry in British colonial education policy. The White Paper documents this ideological orientation of the Hong Kong Government in that schools should teach for the needs of industry.

The Department of Education refers to the release of the White Paper as a democratization in education policy making. The Government gives concessions over the issue of instructional media in junior secondary schools. The choice of adopting either English or Chinese can be decided by school principals. However, the White Paper reminds the principals of some considerations which are extra educational but important forces:

> From an educational point of view, Chinese should be used as the instructional medium for the 12 to 14 years of age kids. However, other factors have to be taken into consideration. Hong Kong, being a commercial and industrial centre with high level of technological development, has established close

> contact and communication with other countries. Undeniably, if further advancement is to be made, good command of English and Chinese for the people engaged in commercial, industrial and professional sectors are needed (Article 2.16).

Examinations are seen as the end of education. The institutionalization of examination is said to be inevitable and desirable because it helps select the bright students on one hand and to eliminate the average ones on another:

> At present, the provision of secondary education is to prepare students for the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination and university entrance examinations; and quite many of them would fail. Therefore, after the completion of the junior secondary, a public examination need to be set up. The examination can provide students that have finished the junior secondary education with certification, as well as to select students for further subsidized education (Article 2.3).

This policy orientation is, to a larger extent, a replication of that of twenty years ago. The examination system is supposed to be beneficial to all students because it helps grant certification to those wanting to work. The examination provides the market value of the students as future workers in the work force. The institutional function of the examination system is mentioned in the White Paper while the adverse social and psychological effects, however, are ignored.

The White Paper conceals many other controversial issues. The Paper points out the fact that it is unreasonable to ask students to sit for the Secondary School

Entrance Examination and the Junior Secondary Education Assessment within three years. At the same time, the Paper does not mention why the Government considers it reasonable for students to sit for the Junior Secondary Education Assessment and the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination within a two-year period.

In discussing the implementation of the new policies, such as bisessionalism, floatation and rotation, extended day system, the major bad consequences on learning and teaching are not mentioned. Only one small paragraph discusses technical problems like the additional working load of school staff and the difficulties in scheduling timetables. In commenting on the possibilities of renovating vacant primary to secondary schools, the White Paper considers it 'not economical.' Again, economics is the ethical base in educational decisions.

Despite strong oppositions from various educational organizations and other concerned bodies, the White Paper was put into action in 1978.

1977 GREEN PAPER ON EDUCATION: SENIOR SECONDARY AND TERTIARY EDUCATION - A DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FOR HONG KONG OVER THE NEXT DECADE

The 1977 Green Paper on Education puts forward proposals on the development program for education beyond the basic nine-year course, in the period up to 1986.

Principal targets involve:

1. subsidized places in senior secondary forms (Forms IV & V), in technical institutes and adult education centres, to be expanded to the full extent of demand from suitable students by 1980;
2. subsidized sixth-form places to be made available for up to one-third of Form IV and V students;
3. more aid to private profit-making schools;
4. curriculum to be broadened, with greater emphasis on practical and technical subjects, and improved facilities and support services be provided;
4. an improved scheme of teacher training;
5. the approved expansion program for a sixth-form and tertiary education to be achieved partly through the post-secondary colleges;
6. the number of students taking degree courses to be increased, by an expansion of the two universities, by the introduction of part-time internal degrees at the two universities and the Polytechnic.

Among the many targets tabled in the Green Paper, vocational education especially at senior secondary and tertiary level is the main concern. According to the Green Paper, the broad definition and widespread implementation of vocational education facilitate a full range of its functions for the individual and society. Effects of vocational education in terms of the economic and social systems are more sophisticated replications of the White Paper released in 1974. The reasons for vocational education, however, are new ideas:

> The Government's aim is to provide a range of opportunities for students to continue their education on a subsidized basis after completing Form III. However, not everyone will wish to avail himself of such opportunities, nor should all the places be provided in schools (Article 3.5).
>
> Many young people will continue to choose to enter employment at the age of 15 and will require their secondary education to be designed with this aim in mind. The proportion of students staying on to Form V may be expected to increase, but many young people of 15 or even over who are not of an academic inclination will probably continue to find the money they could earn by entering employment to be more attractive than the dubious prospects resulting from completing Form V (Article 3.6).
>
> The curriculum in senior secondary forms is not suited to the aptitude and inclinations of everybody in the age range. While the curriculum in Forms I to III is now designed to meet the needs of children across the full range of the ability spectrum, apart from those education in special schools and classes, the curriculum im Forms IV and V is designed to lead to the Certificate of Education Examination. Most of those who are unlikely to complete successfully in academic course leading to an examination such as the Certificate of Education are within the top 40 % of the abilitity spectrum. While motivation is also an important factor, it is not in the students' interests to press them into studying for an examination that is beyond the reach of their ability. As noted in Chapter 6, the Government proposes that the curriculum in Forms IV and V in subsidized secondary schools should become more diversified in the subjects of study and should be capable of meeting the needs of a broader range of students than at present. However, it believes that the senior secondary course should retain its intellectually-demanding features and cannot therefore provide for everyone in the age group. Accordingly, some students wishing to continue their education beyond Form III may find the technical institutes to be more suited to their needs (Article 3.7).

The policies purposely exclude nearly half of the student population from senior and further education through the non-availability of school places and the imposition of a rigorous curricular standard. Yet, the policies are justified on certain premises. First, the Government assumes that not everyone will wish to avail himself of such opportunities. Second, the Government is assertive of the fact that many young people will continue to choose to enter employment at the age of 15 and will require their secondary education to be designed with this aim in mind. Third, it is commonsense knowledge, at least to the Government, that many students find working and earning money at the age of fifteen more attractive than going to school. Finally, the Government knows beforehand that the curriculum in senior secondary forms is not suited to the aptitude and inclinations of everybody in the age range. Such a belief and assumptions imply that the students rather than the curriculum or the education department are responsible for limited school places and school failures.

Senior secondary courses and examinations purposely attempt to retain intellectually-demanding features and yet are beforehand set beyond the reach of students' abilities. Correspondence principles between education and workplace are restated here and there. What the schools seem to do best, as Bowles and Gintis suggest (1976; 1981), is to reproduce good workers. The Green Paper says:

> Government has given considerable priority in recent years to the building of technical institutes. There

> are currently four technical institutes, three of which have opened since September 1975, and a fifth institute is under construction...... It is of considerable importance to Hong Kong's future economic prospects to improve the education and training of skilled craftsman, and educational planning must provide for adequate numbers of good quality entrants to the technical institutes (Article 4.6).
>
> The content and quality of education should be such as would promote greater adaptability, proficiency in a wide range of technical skills, broad perspectives, and the capacity to think logically and to communicate effectively (Article 4.10).

In the concluding remarks of the Green Paper, the Government puts forward another reason for insufficient school places, that is, the prevention of overproduction of graduates who have no chance of following careers appropriate to their skills and attainment. Such a choice, however, represents the dominance of one set of values over another and causes social problems which are all too evident in many overseas countries.

When the Green Paper was published in November 1977, educational bodies and the general public were invited to comment on the proposals. A survey of opinions of teachers and school principals, students, parents and employers was conducted. An expert from the University of London's Institute of Education was invited to advise on various aspects of educational planning, in particular the social and economic implications. Despite strong opposition from the concerned people and various educational organizations, the Green Paper was enforced in 1978.

SUMMARY

The four documentation analyses represent the four phases in educational development which correspond to the four phases of economic history in the Colony. The century from 1850 to 1950 is a period of non-commital by the Government toward education. The stagnancy in educational development keeps pace with the slow economic growth. Over the century, Hong Kong has remained primarily a fishing port and an entrepot. The fishing industry is maintained by the illiterate fishing population while the entrepot trade is controlled by the few merchants and socio-economic elites from the only one university in the Colony. The period from 1955 to 1972 is marked by rapid expansion of primary education. The changes are preceded by parallel changes in the economic structure from that of a fishing port to a light industry centre. From 1972 to 1976, there was a substantial expansion in junior secondary education, while the prevailing structure of the occupational system and work organziation has undergone significant changes, especially in the demand of complex and sophisticated technical skills on workers. From 1977 onwards, government investment on tertiary vocational education is remarkable. Economically speaking, Hong Kong has become a world commercial centre.

Put together, the criterion of functional efficiency for economic growth is a prime element in educational policy.

The function of political socialization in education is not undermined at the expense of economic priority. An investigation of curricular changes in the four documents will give further insights into the point. From 1850 to 1950, over 90 % of the schools were operated by missionary and private bodies. The curricula in missionary schools emphasize proselytization while the private schools, most of which were originally established in China, put emphasis on the maintenance of Chinese language and culture. The influx of 'refugees' and their children fleeing from Communist China from 1950 onwards poses threats to the Colony. The problems of community, political stability, and economic prosperity are considered with reference to education. As such, 'basics,' 'needs of steady industry' and homogenous outlook are emphasized in the primary school curriculum. The subjects of English, Chinese, and Mathematics are the hub of school knowledge. The nature of the student is looked at from a particular viewpoint in that the students' outlooks need to be homogenized.

The 1974 White Paper and the 1977 Green Paper signify the trend towards vocational education. To specify the trend, I also point to the corresponding changes in curriculum, which include the increase in technical subjects for junior secondary school students, the vocationalization of tertiary institutes, and the rapid increase of Anglo-Chinese schools.

The documentation analysis also charts uneven school expansion and the general lack of educational opportunity. Primary, junior secondary, and tertiary vocational education are expanded while senior secondary and university education are stagnant in growth. Uneven school expansion is not only a characteristic of colonial education but also a subsequent result of colonial government priorities on social development. For the Hong Kong Government, education ultimately is social and economic reproduction. The reason for this is obvious, according to the Prokla School. No society can survive unless each new generation is trained in how to master and accept the jobs that conserve the present society, and no society can with impunity permit an educational system which is unable to train people to adapt themselves to existing labor conditions, living conditions, and power structures. The logic here is taken for granted by the Government.

The documentation analysis provides a background in understanding the governmental ideologies 'about' education and it is the ideologies 'in' education that I turn to in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

ASPECTS OF BUREAUCRACY AND EDUCATION: STUDENT CONTROL IDEOLOGY AND STUDENT CONTROL STRUCTURE

In this chapter, I am primarily concerned with what Michael Apple (1979) calls the 'deep structure' of schooling experience. The tacit learning of norms, values, and dispositions that goes on simply by students' living in and coping with the situational expectations and routines of schools day in and day out is the major concern. Particular attention is put on the student control ideology and structure.

Control occurs in school not merely in the forms of disciplines school have or in the dispositions they teach. Control is exercised as well through the forms and corpus of school knowledge that can become a form of social, economic, and cultural control. This Chapter deals with the kind of control as manifested in the various aspects of educational bureaucracy. Chapter VI will discuss the politics of control through school knowledge. The interaction between the colonial government and the colonized people and their culture are discussed.

Section 1 explores the physical environment of school buildings and their management system. Section 2 discusses the authority of the school and the teacher-student relationship. Sections 3 and 4 seek to take seriously the importance of different pupil control structures such as streaming and tracking, keeping files, and marking work. It investigates the ways in which these practices help conserve the hegemonic and problematic nature of the educational system. These aspects of bureaucracy are obvious routines in schools but have been attracted little discussion in the past.

SCHOOL BUILDING, STRUCTURE, AND MANAGEMENT

According to the language of instruction, secondary schools can be classified into Anglo-Chinese and Chinese middle schools. According to curriculum, they can be categorized into grammar and technical schools; and, according to maintenance, they can be typified as government, aided, and private schools. The Anglo-Chinese schools comprise the majority of the secondary schools and are the most popular among parents and students, mainly because the prospects of the graduates from these schools are better than those of the Chinese grammar or technical schools. Government or aided schools are better than private schools in terms of facilities, campus environment, school organization, teacher qualification, and students' academic attainment.

Using the reason that there is a scarcity of land use, the Government refrains from building new schools and resorts to alternative of purchasing places in private schools. The Government subsidizes a place in private secondary school so that the pupil is only required to pay the same fee as a pupil in a government or aided secondary school. About 50 % of the junior secondary school students are placed in the private schools which are run as business firms for the sole purpose of making money (Cheng, 1982). A variety of measures are adopted to increase school places. Some examples are bisessional operation, floatation of classroom use, rotation and the extended day system.

Floatation refers to the use of special rooms as form or grade bases. Suppose that a school has 24 classrooms, 11 special rooms, and a school hall. The total number of instructional places altogether would be 35. This school, then, can have more than 30 classes. This results in 25 % more classes than the actual number of classrooms in a school.

Rotation is another new policy. School is opened for six days a week and students go to school for five days. Students do not go to school consecutively within the week but have one day off in between the week. Through the policy, the total number of students in a school can be increased by 20 %.

Bisessionalism is operated in that two different schools, with different staff and separate management, use the same school building. One school is operated in the morning and the other in the afternoon. The capacity of the school is thus increased by 100 %. An extended system is an arrangement which permits a staggering of classes throughout the day. Some classes begin and end the school before some other classes, but all classes are in session at the same time for a greater part of the day.

All these new policies are adopted for the primary aim of increasing the school places. They, however, render the educational setting overcrowded, noisy, stuffy, distractful, and in turn foster despair, separateness, conflicts, low morale, and vanadalism of all kinds. Inside the school and classroom, students are very much restricted in movement. Rotation and extended-day system cause inconvenience to both students' and teachers' families or social lives. Floatation use of classroom causes disciplinary problems in changing classrooms. Bisessionalism renders extra curricular activities almost impossible. Under such constraints, school life in secondary schools is a staggering of classroom lectures at best. Schooling experience is asocial and anti-educational in this sense.

It is not phenomenal that many of the private schools in Hong Kong do not have school campuses. Some of the schools are located on two to three floors of a commercial building while some are located in residential high rises. These schools have no playgrounds for physical education lessons, sports events, and extra curricular activities. Nor do they have school halls or any other large space for assemblies, variety shows, work displays, and exhibitions. Students go to the school building and then the classroom a few minutes before the class begins and have to leave a few minutes after school. Socials among students and teachers cannot take place inside the school. For students in private schools, the concept of school and the nature of schooling means a set of classrooms and a series of classroom activities.

Because many of these schools are located or near commercial and residential areas, disturbances from the surrounding environment are inevitable. In many instances, the high level of noise and air pollution renders teacher instruction almost impossible if the windows are not closed. The classroom door must be shut as well to avoid disturbances from other teachers and students in the next classroom. Very rarely is air conditioning or ventilation provided.

The stuffy classroom without air circulation renders the classroom environment sleepy and boring. During summer, the environment becomes intolerable because of the hot temperature and high humidity, which can be higher than 30° C and as humid as 90 % of water vapour in the air throughout the whole week or even an entire month. Distractions may come from every direction. Students sitting near the window may find concentration difficult because of the noise from streets outside. Students sitting near the door may have difficulty in hearing what the teachers say because of the high noise level from the hallway or other classrooms which are very closely-spaced.

Classrooms are overcrowded with desks, chairs, and pupils. In Canada, a classroom of about four hundred square feet accommodates about twenty to thirty pupils. In Hong Kong, however, such a room can accommodate forty five students or more. There may be seven to eight seats in a row. Students sitting at the back, with a sea of students' heads moving around in the front, can hardly see the blackboard or hear the teacher. Two to three rows are spaced together, with one to two narrow walking areas in between. Students are jammed in the overcrowded classroom while teachers have difficulty 'supervising' students. Very often, the disciplinary troubles inside the classroom demand most of the attention of the teacher because a quiet and attentive atmosphere for learning is difficult to maintain.

Facilities are extremely underprovided in many private schools. While some government or aided secondary schools can afford facilities such as language laboratories, science laboratories, and educational television classes, the students in private schools are deprived of them all. Unqualified teachers are typically employed because they can be paid less.

There are no government restrictions concerning qualifications for teachers in private schools. Teachers who are recent graduates from Forms V, VI, VII may be employed to teach classes in Forms V, VI, VII. The morale of the teachers is as low as their pay. As a result, the morale of the students is low as well. In such learning conditions, it is not surprising that among the total number of students failing in the Junior Secondary Education Assessment, a very large majority (more than 80 %) are from the private schools.

The above adverse schooling features in private schools do not imply their absence in government or aided schools. As a matter of fact, similar problems, though to a less serious extent, occur in government or aided schools. Many of the new policies initialed in the 1974 White Paper on Education: Secondary Education in Hong Kong Over the Next Decade are put into practice in government and aided schools.

The physical landscape inside the school exhibit the need for students to learn to tolerate the ambiguity and discomfort of the places and to accept a considerable degree of arbitrariness in their school activities (Apple, 1979:54). Despite the continual environmental distractions, students have to be attentive to what the teacher says. The examination philosophy and teacher-centered instruction demand class attention to what is said. The discomfort and arbitrariness also apply to teachers.

AUTHORITY OF THE SCHOOL AND TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS

The right to authority and the form of relationship in any organization depends, to a large extent, on the nature of that particular organization. School as a social institution is classified in the category of 'service organization.' Service organizations have the crucial problem of providing professional services to clientele who do not know what serves their best interest (Blau and Scott, 1962:42-43). Etzioni classifies schools as normative organizations in terms of the kind of compliance they exert upon their participants (Etzioni, 1961). Carlson, in his analysis of various social organizations, considers schools in the same category as mental hospitals, reform schools, and prisons (Carlson, 1964). Clientele are supposed to have little control over the kinds of relationships established between them. Teachers and pupils never attain or maintain an equal relationship with one another. A close examination of the school structure and its vested authority reveals the student control ideology and student control structure at work in most of the secondary schools. They are, however, embedded in one form or another.

Student control ideology refers to the set of beliefs held by school staff member regarding the social control of students. Student control structure is then designated to characteristics of the pupil control policies or practices initiated within schools to foster the social control of students. Gilbert and Levinson first conceptualize student control ideology as a continuum ranging from 'custodialism' at one extreme to 'humanism' at the other, and student control structure from 'highly developed' to 'less developed' (1957:23). In terms of the above paradigm, secondary schools in Hong Kong are very much characterized by 'custodialism' as a student control ideology and a 'highly developed' student control structure.

For every school, there is a set of written or unwritten school regulations that must be observed by all students. The details and sections of the regulations may range from a few typed pages to a booklet. Any infraction of a regulation is subject to some kind of physical or psychological punishment. In some schools, the new students who commit no wrongdoings during the first few school days, however, are asked to memorize or copy the regulations. School regulations can generally be divided into four sections: (1) regulations governing school behavior in the school building and classroom, (2) regulations governing attitude toward the principal, school staff, and school prefects, (3) regulations governing attitude toward schoolwork, and (4) regulations governing manner and appearance.

In most government and aided schools where assembly space is available, students must form straight and orderly lines in the playground or in the hall. The assembly is the time and place for the principal to remind students of his/her authority. Making announcements on an uplifted platform or on the stage reminds students of the principal's ultimate exercise of control. After the announcements, staff and school prefects parade through the lines of students and check their uniforms. Prefects are dispersed around the stairways and corridors to help keep order and silence. After entering the classroom, monitors resume the responsibility of keeping the class quiet.

In some schools, there are three assemblies in one school day: one in the morning, one after recess, and one after lunch break. The whole processes of ceremonies and spying on students' uniforms and behavior are repeated. Students cannot escape the chore of lining up and waiting even in adverse weather conditions. This practice is considered by school authorities as useful in the training of students' discipline and patience.

Regulations concerning personal manner and appearance constitute another major aspect of the student control structures. The school uniform is a symbolic representation of the school and its authority. Violation of a school uniform regulation is thus a violation of school authority.

The color, the style, and the quality of the uniforms are prescribed in the school regulations. For boys, the number of plaits on their trousers, the color of their belts, and even the pocket size on the shirt are part of the school regulations. For girls, the length of their dresses should not be shorter than up to their knees. On many occasions, students are intimidated by the regulations. Girls may be asked to kneel down on the floor to let teachers see clearly the exact length of their dresses. Female teachers and boy students may be embarrassed when teachers are counting the number of plaits and testing the quality of their trousers.

Hair is also subject to school regulation. Very often, boys cannot have hair longer than where their collar stands. Students with natural curly hair have to show evidence in the form of a supporting letter from parents. Girls cannot have hair longer than their shoulders. If so, they must either tie their hair up or have it cut. Even the color of the ribbon band for tying up hair is prescribed in the regulations. No decoration like rings or necklaces are permitted.

Punctuality, obedience, submissiveness to teachers' guidance, quietness and tidiness in doing work, and acquiescence to school regulations are the most preferred personality traits for students. Various kinds of punishments are devised to govern students' compliance to the different regulations. A most common 'defect and mistake' punishment system is practised in many secondary schools. Adverse school behavior or misconduct by students are usually classified into the following three categories: (1) defects, (2) minor mistakes, and (3) big mistakes. The 'defects' and 'mistakes' would be entered in the student record card. Three defects are counted as a minor mistake and three minor mistakes as a big mistake. Students with three big mistakes are either expelled from the school or asked to withdraw from school voluntarily. The standards of weighing students' wrongdoings are subject to school differential treatment. Cheating in the examination and vandalism may be seen as a big mistake in some schools while only a minor mistake in others. Students have no access to appeal.

In every school, there is a hierarchical structure of authority and its delegation. Hardworking, docile, and self-disciplined students would be nominated and incorporated into the school discipline team, staffed by strict teachers and headed by the discipline master. It is not uncommon to have retired policemen or part-time auxiliary constables employed as the discipline masters in private schools. In government or aided schools, the physical education teacher or those staff labeled as harsh and strict are more likely to be responsible for the discipline problem of students. It is by no means a coincidence that school discipline is likely to be related to the issue of force in the secondary schools.

The custodialism, strictness, and authoritarian sense of student control in teacher-student relationship depends on many factors, in addition to personal differences. A teacher's authority may be strengthened or weakened depending on the way the school administration defines standard and rules and on the relationship between parent, principal, and teacher.

In Hong Kong, teacher's authority is likely to be strengthened by both institutional and ideological factors. As discussed above, the structure on student control is that of 'custodialism' and 'highly developed.' The large student-teacher ratio (which is approximately 40:1) seems to demand an organization model which is authoritarian and directive in nature. Traditional Confucianism, though weakening in the hearts and minds of the general Chinese people, still exerts influence on teachers and parents. There is a Confucian saying on education that: Father who is not strict with his son is wrong; teacher who is not strict with his students is lazy. In addition to the ideological influences, the general respect of parents towards schooling institutions and the roles of teachers is high. Most parents usually hold the belief that their children can benefit from school, in terms of knowledge attainment, personality training, and social mobility in the future, especially when the school and teacher are strict to the students.

STREAMING AND TRACKING

Students in secondary schools are streamed according to different criteria which include race, class, command of English, and examination scores. Tracking can occur at inter- and intra- levels of race, class, school types, and grade levels.

Racial streaming is obvious in the Colony. English-speaking children have their own school system and curriculum. They are not required to sit for any examination before obtaining a place in any primary and secondary schools. In fact, the Government provides various forms of reimbursement and scholarships for their university education in overseas countries. The curriculum, textbooks, instructional approaches, and schooling facilities adopt the British system. While Chinese students have to travel great distances and have their physical education lessons in the public playground, English children have their own grassland football pitch and recreational area. While Chinese students have to suffer crowded and stuffy classrooms, English children can enjoy their lesson in air-conditioned and spacious classrooms.

Streaming students by class is phenomenal because of the uneven distribution of school types in the Colony. The prestigious schools are comparatively well-established, adequately-funded by government or missionary bodies, with a longer history, and attract and admit better students. These schools are normally located at quiet area, along the hillside, and possess their own campuses. Over 90 % of these prestigious secondary schools are Anglo-Chinese grammar schools, with matriculation classes leading to the university entrance examinations. The majority of the private Chinese middle or technical schools are found in the overcrowded areas of New Kowloon or town centres in the New Territories. The schools are characterized as poorly-run, profit-making, located within market places or busy town centres, and with very poor facilities. Since the abolition of the Junior Primary VI Examination in 1974, a school web system is devised to allocate primary VI leavers to different secondary schools within the residential areas. The school web system favors the well-off class by assigning its children to nearby prestigious schools.

Accordingly, students are streamed through public examination in Primary VI, Forms III, V, VI, VII. Primary VI leavers, with a good internal school record and high scores on the Academic and Aptitude Test, will be more likely to be streamed into government or aided Anglo-Chinese grammar schools. Form III students, after completing the junior secondary education, have to be streamed under the Junior Secondary Education Assessment. Students with high marks are accepted in government or aided Anglo-Chinese schools while those with lower marks are assigned to private or technical schools. Form V students are streamed again under the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination. Those successful examinees, about 20 % of the total number of fifth-formers, can pursue further studies.

Intra— school streaming is very common in secondary schools. For most schools, there may be four to eight classes at each grade level. Once new students are accepted into the school, they are usually asked to sit in an internal selection test which will rank their positions among all students. The first fifty students may be grouped in class A, the following fifty in class B, and so on. For each class, the location of the classroom, the subjects taken, the teacher qualification, and the teaching approach would be different. Classes A and B would be well-situated on the upper floors of the school building and avoid disturbances from the main streets or noise from the school playground. Students in classes A and B may be required to take Advanced Mathematic while classes C and D take Ordinary

Mathematic. Students in classes E and F are deprived of the subject. Classes A and B students may have the principal, academic master, or subject panel as their teachers while classes E and F would typically have fresh graduates or unqualified teachers.

Chanelling students into science and arts streams is another characteristic of the tracking system. The chanelling usually takes place when the students finish Form III, but some schools stream the students as early as in Forms I and II. Students with good internal academic standing and high scores from the Junior Secondary Education Assessment are usually advised and chanelled into the science stream while the remaining are directed towards the arts stream. Very often, the school has two classes of science and three or four classes of arts. Such a policy is intentional and to enhance competition and standards within the science classes. The chanelling policy takes marks and scores as the prime consideration and disregard students' interests. The policy may cause disinterest in learning, keen competition among students, and the supposition that high status will be given to scientific and technical knowledge.

The streaming and tracking mechanism in education is in large part due to the selection function of schooling. The works of Apple, Bernstein, Bourdieu, Bowles and Gintis, Young and Whitty all point to the significant role education plays in recreating social and economic hierarchies of the larger society through what is seemingly natural process of selection and instruction. The question pertaining to these educational theorists is that there must be something inherent in our forms of social relationship that makes an activity of streaming and tracking so acceptable, so routine, and so sensible an act in education.

KEEPING FILES AND GRADING WORK

In Hong Kong, keeping files and marking are very obvious and routine aspects of what go on in school. Yet, the issue of accuracy, validity, centrality, and reliability in relation to keeping files and marking is seldom queried. In August, about one month before the school year starts, every new student has to attend an orientation day organized by the school. In some schools, it is even compulsory for parents to attend the orientation. During that day, the principal or the staff would explicitly review the school history, organization, facilities, and, in particular, the school regulations to the students and their parents. Such a review is an effective means of providing parents with information about the school as well as their implicit consent, in the presence of the students, to school sanctions. The most important thing the school expects students to learn on that day is to internalize and accept the school sanctions, with the illusory consensus of their parents. The experience of the first school day places students in a situation that identifies their positions in the school hierarchies.

On that day, a school record file is filled in by the student, the form-master/form-mistress, and signed by the parents. The file contains information on a student's identity, age, address, family background, and scholastic record. If it is an Anglo-Chinese school, the students would then be asked to adopt an English Christian name. A new but forced upon identity is taken up by the students once they enter the institution. Scores of the Academic and Aptitude Test are entered. Any especially good recommendation or bad references from the students' previous primary schools will also be recorded. Parents' signatures have two uses. First, they represent the parents' agreement on the validity of the information about the students. Second, the signature is a sample of the guardian signature which provides a reference for further teacher-parent communication. At times, teachers may want to inform parents about a poorly-done or failing test paper of the student, demanding the same signature on students' workbooks or test papers.

Teacher-parent communication is focused very narrowly. It seems reasonable that both positive and negative acknowledgement to parents about pupils should be made; however, a parent's signature and thus acknowledgement are required only on poor schoolwork or 'misconduct.' Examples of success and outstanding achievement are not communicated to the parents. In other words, the communication between teachers and parents is typically one-sided, downward, and negative.

The record card is refiled at the end of each school year. Grades and marks of every subject taken by the students are entered. Class position, conduct, and special comments from teachers would be entered. Outstanding achievements in studies, sports, and other extra curricular activities, wrongdoings and the form of punishment being taken would be recorded as well. Information is accumulated year after year until the students leave the school. Teachers usually write students' leaving certificates with references to the marks and remarks of the files.

Secondary school students hand in work to teachers on a regular basis. Both academic and social subject teachers assign homework or schoolwork to students. The Government has released unofficial suggestions that homework should not be more than five hours a day for a student. However, many schools and teachers push the students to work beyond the limit. Many students spend the entire two days during the weekend doing homework, yet have difficulties finishing the work.

Marking work is a routine activity for all teachers. Symbolic grades or marks are given which are usually entered in teachers' mark books. Thus, over time, pupils come to acquire a constellation of marks against their names. The mark percentages of the schoolwork, homework, tests, and examinations form the basis for the rank ordering of all the pupils in the class. They also form the basis on which stream and set allocation is done as well as providing important grounds for the attribution of scholastic identity to pupils by themselves, their friends, their teachers, and their parents (Hextall, 1976:66).

Marking work is a technical activity and a political act. The central problems of grading are its validity, reliability, objectivity, and hidden meaning. The meaning of grades A, B, C, D, E go beyond their verbal expressions. Marks like 100, 87, 50, 38, and 0 imply something more than their numerical forms. Giving a mark, assigning a grade, ticking off items of a checklist imply a very narrow and simplified notion of the teaching and learing processes, creating the illusion of accuracy, objectivity, and comparability, as though the extent of a student's knowledge level and understanding can be filed as a fact. It also assumes that a student's answers, abilities, achievements, and creativity can be broken down and be assigned an exact position in the 100 - 0 scale or the A - E range. Needless to say, there is a presupposition that teachers judge the work done by all students using consistent standards and values.

Given the centrality of the marks assigned to the schoolwork, students are induced to work hard for the purpose of marks. Students are pressed to gain higher marks because such marks provide scholastic and social identity and status. Keen competition and mutual distrust are incited among fellow students, inside or outside the classroom. Competition rather than co-operation governs the relations among participants. An external system - wages in the economy and similar to the grade system in school - holds sway. The scale of a marking system, the method of files being kept, and the way reports are written create a sense of authority and certainty. Teachers' competence and impartiality in judging students are taken for granted. The aspects of being judged include the students' personality, aptitude, confidence, sociability, responsibility, and intelligence. A schooled people, after a period of schooling, attains a bulk of judgements from others. These judgements are communicated to other students, parents, and finally to society.

These judgements, often directed against personal traits and abilities, are actually addressed to the educational bureaucracy. They state whether students are likely to be successful or unsuccessful within the social and economic systems. In addition to the issue of objectivity and reliability, marking and file keeping also highlight the problem of the relationship between institutional hierarchies, the type of information they create, and the way they are used.

Marking work and file keeping are forms of bureaucracy and a legitimation of the bureaucracy (Winter, 1976:83). The constellation of marks students attain and the content of the students' files add up to a potential justification or estimation of the market value of the students. Applying the Marxian and the political economists' perspectives, students, in the course of receiving education, are undergoing the process of being transformed to the required commodity before sold out for employment. The files and the marks of the students are evidence of the students' exchange value.

Placing students in a particular circumstance and ranking them stigmatizes many while rewarding a few. And, by the senior levels, the questions become how these scholastic identities are maintained than how they are established.

SUMMARY

Student control ideology and structure are the central foci in this Chapter. The various aspects of educational bureaucracy and the role of a school in the creation and re-creation of hegemony in students are analyzed. These include the physical landscape of teaching and learning, the material condition of schooling institutions (section 1); the covert control mechanism as revealed in the school's power to punish and teacher-student relationship (section 2); the sociology and economics of streaming and tracking system (section 3), and the routine but political activities of keeping files on students and grading work (section 4).

In presenting the various components of school life, the Chapter unveils many educational problems that have been taken for granted. The multifarious facets of educational activities or practices are made problematic and their political natures are reviewed. In addition to the notion of control, the productive rationality is examined. To a considerable extent, the types of school students attend, grades and certificates students attain and records of achievement and behavior accrued to them determine their success and access to school, work, and life. Students not only observe the external standards, but eventually internalize the standards by which the selection is guided.

The assimilation into these external systems forms the major part of the so-called schooling experience, though increasing resistance to various aspects of bureaucracy does occur among some students.

The following chapter will be a continuation of the discussion of control ideology of schooling from another perspective, that is, the exploration of the politics of school knowledge.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY CURRICULUM, PEDAGOGY, AND EVALUATION

According to Bernstein, there are three message systems in educational knowledge. These are: (1) curriculum (valid knowledge), (2) pedagogy (valid transmission of knowledge), and (3) evaluation (valid realization of knowledge on the part of the students). Bourdieu calls these three message systems a kind of arbitrary culture imposed upon the students. This chapter attempts to explore the kind of arbitrariness as revealed in the curricular content, pedagogy, texbooks, and the examination requirements. Secion 1 describes the history curriculum of secondary schools in Hong Kong. Section 2 describes the use of textbooks and the meaning of classroom pedagogy. Section 3 is a content analysis of the World and Chinese History question papers of the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination from 1980 to 1984.

THE POLITICS OF HISTORY CURRCIULUM AND HISTORY KNOWLEDGE

By its very nature, knowledge is a form of social wisdom that represents the concerns of humanity. However, school knowledge, embedded in a school subject and transmitted in a school setting, represents a particular world view and presupposes some forms of political nature (Whitty and Young, 1976). It underlies assumptions about student's learning abilitiy, teaching approaches, teacher-student relationship and all other aspects of the explicit and implicit curriculum.

World history and Chinese history are two separate subjects in the secondary school curriculum. In junior secondary, world history together with geography, economics, and public affairs are integrated into the social studies curriculum. World history covers a wide range of concerns about the world, from ancient to contemporary eras. In senior levels, world history curriculum excludes history of America, Africa, Australia, and Asia except that of Japan and China. World history specializes on European history, especially the history of the British. If bits of Asian, African, and American history are taught, they are taught in light of the European history.

Chinese history, from pre-historical to modern times, is taught in junior secondary levels. In senior levels, Chinese history curriculum is divided into three sections:

1. Ancient China (1523 B.C. - 265 A.D.)
2. Medieval China (265 A.D. - 1368 A.D.)
3. Contemporary China (1368 A.D. - 1949 A.D.)

Educational theorists in the Marxian tradition, the new sociology perspective, the political economy school of thought, and relationally the research on educational colonialism pursue methodologies that do not take for granted that curricular knowledge is neutral. Instead, they look for social interests embedded in the knowledge form itself. The changes in the syllabuses of world and Chinese history in secondary school curriculum in Hong Kong illustrate some of the political natures of school knowledge.

Before 1974, the periods of study in the subject of Chinese history were confined to 1523 B.C. - 1842 A.D. The entire period of contemporary (1842 - 1911 A.D.) and modern (1911 A.D. to present) Chinese history is excluded from the Chinese history curriculum. Part of the history (1842 - 1911 A.D.) is taught in the subject of world history. In 1978, contemporary Chinese history was included in Chinese history curriculum, while the part on modern China was added to world history curriculum. However, all students are deprived of the opportunities in learning the history about Communist China from 1949 to present. It was not until 1981 that students taking Chinese history could learn Chinese history up to 1949, while students taking world history could be taught the history of Communist China.

It is difficult to argue that one period of history is more worthy of study than others. The intentional exclusion and then gradual inclusion of contemporary and modern

Chinese history do represent ideological configurations of the dominant interests in a society. That school knowledge on contemporary and modern China is not made available to secondary school students before 1978 is, I think, not due to any instructional or institutional factors but societal forces. In Chapter II, I have pointed out that political apathy toward the Hong Kong Government and non-identification with either one of the two Chinas are significant political characteristics of the Hong Kong people. Political apathy is also an important factor in the maintenance of social and political stability in the Colony. In the eyes of the Government, political apathy of the younger generation, especially towards China, is desirable and necessary for colonial rule.

Political relations between China, Great Britain, and Hong Kong changed with the downfall of the 'Gang of Four' in 1976. Comparatively speaking, political claims of the sovereignity of Hong Kong by the Chinese government are advancing while the British are being non-initiating. The economic benefit the Colony acquires from China trade is accelerating, which to a large extent depends on a positive and friendly relationship between Hong Kong and China. The colonial government concedes to curricular control, at least in the teaching and learning of contemporary and modern Chinese history.

On the face of the selection of knowledge into school curriculum, it is curious that the history on modern China is included in the subject of world history and not in Chinese history. The political significance of inclusion and exclusion is again apparent when considering the nature of the instructional media and the streaming system in the secondary schools of Hong Kong. Chines history, as a school discipline, is taught in Chinese while world history is in English. Difficulties in learning the subject matter is naturally increased, despite the fact that Chinese history is a popular subject among both arts and science streams students. World history, on another hand, is usually taken by students in the arts stream and dropped by students of science stream. As such, the number of students learning the subject matter is naturally reduced. There is no academic validity in arguing that the inherent nature of the history of Communist China should be included in the world istory curriculum only. Rather, some concrete appraisals of the linkages between economic, social, and political power and the politics of school curriculum or knowledge are identified.

USE OF TEXTBOOKS AND CLASSROOM PEDAGOGY

Textbooks and classroom pedagogy provide the two most important means of students acquiring knowledge within the context of learning at school. The form of textbooks, the way in which content is presented, and the model on which classroom instruction is conducted will be discussed critically in this section.

In junior secondary levels, world history studies are incorporated into the social studies curriculum. Chinese history and social studies are relegated to a secondary place in the program of studies for at least two reasons. First, they are not examined in the Junior Secondary Education Assessment. Second, school staff and the Education Department believe that social studies and Chinese history are common-sense subjects which do not necessarily require early instruction or concept development on the part of the students. It is also assumed that students will take up the subject matter or concepts easily in senior forms.

In the United States, history textbooks are written by historians, curriculum experts, and publishing company personnel (Anyon, 1979:362). In Hong Kong, textbooks are usually written by secondary school teachers. The information presented in history textbooks is primarily intended to prepare students for the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination. There may be one to two required textbooks for each subject in senior forms. Several references and supplementary texts will be used. The reference books are usually a collection of test samples modelled on the question papers of the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination. These books are often written in notes or in point form which are replications of the marking schemes of the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination released by the Hong Kong Examination Authority. These books present all historical events, be they controversial or factual, simple or complex, in a simplified and easily assimilated way. Such a presentation suggests to students that everything can be explained in a concise and straightforward manner. Difficult events and controversies are either unexamined or explained in a simplistic way.

History knowledge is universalized in textbooks or classroom instruction. Historical facts are minimized to a set of principles which obscures students from experiencing the intricacy, essence, significance, and uniqueness of the historical events. History, as presented in textbooks and examination marking schemes, becomes nothing but a succession of wars and kings. The rise or decline of any empire in any part of the world in any historical moment is due to the same set of factors: political stability or corruption, economic prosperity or difficulty, military strengthening or weakening, population growth, bureaucracy of officials, mass movement, and/or natural disasters. The same set of principles is repeated again and again from Form

I to Form V in the textbooks, in classroom instruction, and in the Examination. The internalization and memory of the set of principles, however, is a tool of survival in the history class and examination. The instructional aims of training the minds of citizens to wrestle with the problems of their own day, the weighing of evidence, the exercise of judgement, the cultivation of sense of historicity, and the appreciation of culture remains idealistic as far as Hong Kong is concerned. These kinds of inner growths are translated into the development of one particular skill: the memory of facts.

History is the study of society and people. It is the study of the development of society and people. Most important, it is the study of changes - changes in society and people. However, history teaching in Hong Kong conforms to Freire's banking conception of education and does not go beyond the technological viewpoint of knowledge. Historical events are presented as objective, static, normal, unchanging, and unchangeable. The constitutive framework of the history curriculum centers around consensus. There are few attempts in dealing with conflicts in historical issues. The so-called radicalizing potential of history and social studies curricula as advocated by Whitty (1976) is missing. History teaching in Hong Kong helps conserve the dominant status quo.

Classroom teaching is usually a one-way, downward communication from teacher to students. Students are passive recipients of 'banked' knowledge while teachers are passive depositors of the 'banked' knowledge. A large proportion of time of the average history lesson is devoted to textbook reading. History is taught as a textbook course. Testing is another major instructional technique. Instead of explaining or discussing the historical events, a test on that particular topic which has not been taught or mentioned in class is administered to the students. After the test, students are given the required answers. Teachers find this approach more advantageous than the traditional approaches of 'talk and chalk.' Testing familarizes students with facts and at the same time shows them the way to answer questions in the examination. Examinations become the content of instruction as well as the end of instruction.

The notions of alienation is helpful in analyzing classroom instruction. According to Marx, alienation is aroused when man is separated from his activity, his product, his fellow people, and his culture. As we can see in the above discussion, the activity of learning and the knowledge mastered in classroom or examination do not belong to students in the first place. The knowledge are set up for them by others (Sarup, 1978):

> those who control what is needed have interests other than, and hostile to, the interests of the persons in need (p.143).

Alienation resulting from the separation of a student from his/her fellow people and culture can be manifested in the compulsory use of English as instructional medium. The spelling and pronunciation of historical names and terms in English create unnecessary learning difficulties and psychological burdens for students and teachers. Both of them are deprived of opportunities to express their thoughts and feeling freely, critically, and/or independently when using a second language.

MODE OF EVALUATION AND THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE HONG KONG CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION EXAMINATION QUESTION PAPERS ON CHINESE HISTORY 1980-84

The examination system is one way, if not the most important way, through which education is related with social control and selection. Rothstein discerns the multiple meanings of examination system clearly in his book The Power to Punish (1984). He states:

> The examination in urban schools served a dual purposes : it allowed schoolmen and others to observe the levels of students achievement; and it provided a norm for evaluating and ranking that achievement. It was an instrument of stratification, a method of surveillance that made it possible to differentiate, to classify, and to reward or punish. That was why,

> in the bureaucratic structures of the late 19th century, the examination was highly valued by school administrators. In it were found the force and authority of a seemingly fair competition, the discipline of a just and normal evaluation. At its core was the objectification of the students' identity and work, the transformation of his physical and mental qualities into quantitative data that could be more easily managed and digested by the organization's communication system. The imposition of standardized examinations and classroom tests re-emphasized the power and status relationship inside the urban school. It was also another way that outside, social forces determined what would be taught in every classroom (p.82).

There are many important issues in understanding the meaning and function of examination system in modern schools; for instance, examination as a function of social control, examination as classfication and stratification system, the creation of uniformity of teacher instruction through examination, the politics in the constant measurements of student competency, and the rituals of and psychological effects on students' taking examination. These five problems are investigated in this section respectively.

Examination as a form of social control is directly related to the problem of what counts as school knowledge which has been discussed in section 1 of this Chapter. In the examination system, students and their teachers are forced to accept the knowledge perspectives of those in position of power and prestige. Students learn what is required of them and teachers teach what is required in the examination. Answering questions during an examination is not simply a matter of recalling and showing what an individual student knows, but proving that one knows the thing the authority required. Teachers are manipulated by the mode of evaluation, though in a more subtle way. Very often, teachers are judged on the basis of their students' achievement in examination and in their ability to teach facts in prescribed ways.

Social control through examinations can be manifested in what are the emphasized and the neglected aspects of the examination in history. The most controversial and politically sensitive issue in contemporary and modern Chinese history that has direct concern to Hong Kong is that of the Opium War 1842. A content analysis according to the question types of the Examination papers on Chinese history and world history shows the following results in Table 10 and Table 11.

TABLE 10

ANALYSIS OF QUESTION TYPES ON CONTEMPORARY AND MODERN CHINESE HISTORY IN CHINESE HISTORY QUESTION PAPERS OF THE HONG KONG CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION EXAMINATION 1980-84

	Total Number of Questions	Number of Question on Opium War
1980	6	1
1981	6	0
1982	6	0
1983	5	0
1984	5	0
	28	1

TABLE 11

ANALYSIS OF QUESTION TYPES ON CONTMPORARY AND MODERN CHINESE HISTORY IN WORLD HISTORY QUESTION PAPERS OF THE HONG KONG CERTFICATE OF EDUCATION EXAMINATION 1980-84

	Total No. of Question	No. of Question on Contemporary and Modern Chinese History	No.of Questions on Opium War
1980	8	3	0
1981	8	3	0
1982	8	3	0
1983	8	3	0
1984	10	3	0
	42	15	0

Among the forty-three questions (twenty-eight in Chinese history question papers and fifteen in world history question papers) set on contemporary and modern Chinese history in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination, only one of them touches upon the Opium War. The way in which that question is asked and the answers are presented in the official marking scheme, however, reveals more clearly the dominant ideology regarding conflicting interest between social control and educational concern. The question and the marking scheme read as follows:

Question:

> China has shown signs of decline in Mid-Ching Dynasty. During the reign of Tao-kuang, the Opium War happened. Since then, China was weakened. Attempt to explain and answer the following two:
> (1) The reasons for the decline of Ching Dynasty (12 marks).
> (2) The political and economic consequences of the Opium War (18 marks).

Marking Guidelines:

(1) Reasons for the decline
- a. political corruption: Manchurians are increasingly corrupted; not attentive to politics; emperors after Chien-lung are mediocre (2 marks);
- b. military corruption: low morale of the army (2 marks);
- c. economic difficulties: arise from the ten invasion campaigns and six expeditions of Chien-lung, the avarice of officials, and natural disasters (2 marks);
- d. population increase: limited cultivated land and inadequate production (2 marks);
- e. bureaucracy and corruption of civil

servants (2 marks);

f. mass movement: rise of secret societies, and the shaking up of Ching's rule (2 marks).

2 x 6 = 12

(2) Political and economic consequences

a. political aspects:
   - i. decline of international status: expose own weakness and induce foreign aggression (2 marks);
   - ii. setting example of unequal treaty for foreign powers and affected Chinese sovereignity (2 marks);
   - iii. loss of territorial integrity: British trade in many ports and set up boundary which destroyed territorial integrity of China (2 marks);
   - iv. example of extra-beneficial treaty: benefits enjoyed by any foreign power in China be enjoyed by other foreign nations; rendered China almost a colony of western powers (2 marks);
   - v. judicial power be vested in foreign nations: foreign people inflicting against Chinese laws be judged by foreign embassy (2 marks);

b. economic aspects:
   - i. loss of taxation right: taxation be mutually decided by China and western nations (2 marks);
   - ii. blow to local industrial development: local industry not protected from foreign competition due to abolition of import tax (2 marks);
   - iii. outflow of silver: big inflow of opium and foreign goods resulted in outflow of silver (2 marks);
   - iv. war indemnity: war indemnity of the Treaty of Nanking aggrevated the apparent economic difficulties (2 marks).

2 x 9 = 18
organization & presentation = 4
Total marks = 34

The forms and the words of the questions of the examination papers, first of all, shift student's attention from the Opium War to the internal and seemingly natural decline of the Ching Dynasty. Instead of asking directly about the reasons for the outbreak of the Opium War in 1842, the question focuses on internal factors that lead to a gradual weakening of China. Instead of discussing the violent Sino-British relation history from 1830 to 1842, the question emphasizes internal Chinese history from 1750 to 1830. The period of 1830 to 1842, which is the time-span of the Sino-British conflict, is de-emphasized. Instead of placing the issue in a violent and controversial context, as real as it was when the British expanded to the Chinese border and initiated the War, the question requires students to write about non-involvement on the part of the British.

The reasons listed for the decline of China in the marking scheme mentions not a word about western imperialism. In discerning the economic difficulties, nothing is said about the inflow of illegal opium from Britain and the outflow of Chinese money. The most imminent cause for the War, according to historical record, is the ban on opium trade by the Chinese government which cause annoyance of British merchants and the political aggression by the British government. In discussing the consequences, nothing is mentioned about the cession of the Hong Kong

Island to British, which is the most significant and direct result of the War as far as the Hong Kong people are concerned.

The marking schemes not only take a narrow viewpoint of historical fact, but also distance students and teachers from the historical facts in at least four ways. First, the marking scheme implies that the existence of the Hong Kong Colony has nothing to do with the Opium War. Second, the outbreak of the War is shown to be the result of the internal decay of the Ching Dynasty. It has nothing to do with western or British imperialism. Third, the British merchants and the British government are not mentioned as being responsible for the outbreak of the War. Fourth, the facts of the illegality of opium trade and the Chinese government's opposition to the trade are not pointed out. Overall, the particularity of the historical event is distorted and missed. The universal laws of history replace the event.

Another obvious but neglected aspects of examination is the history on Communist China, though the part of the history was added in world history curriculum in 1978. In fact, no Chinese history question concerning the year 1945 or after is set in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination since its inclusion in 1978 to 1984. The year 1945 is another turning point in modern Chinese history because it marks the split between Taiwan and Mainland China, which is one of the most politically sensitive and intense periods of study. This unexamined part of history in the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination is usually de-emphasized in school curriculum.

The neglected aspects of the examination in history, with important implications for the learning and teaching of the subject, are worth mentioning in that schools not only process people but also knowledge. School knowledge, transmitted through the examination system, serves the interests of certain groups. In this case, it is the colonial government that the knowledge serves.

It is interesting to note that over 80 % of the questions set in the examination papers use 'attempt to explain and answer' and 'trace and account for' as the question words. By using these words, the questions are seemingly set in a neutral and factual tone which demands no reflective or critical thinking from students.

The distribution of marks can be a form of control as well. A question may generally consist of two to three sub-questions in which the mark distribution is not made known to the students. Candidates may assume equal weights of each sub-questions. They are not given any clues in the number of points or length required for each sub-question. Very often, students try to give as detailed and balanced description as possible, though recognizing that some parts of the answer are repetitive. Students are rendered fallible and dependent in these situations, but understand that these are necessary to show their intelligence.

The marking guidelines are released by the Hong Kong Examination Authority each year to the markers (markers are usually teachers who have been teaching Form V classes the respective year). The guidelines are presumably restricted papers and be kept confidential. The markers and various secondary school authorities, however, take the heed and risk of running off copies for teachers and students. The papers are open to free circulation among schools and students. The Hong Kong Examination Authority goes conspiciously easy with these practices, which in turn, encourages greater acceptance of the knowledge perspective of the Authority and thus the government.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, the politics of history knowledge, textbooks, classroom instruction, and the examination system are explored in relation to the notions of control, selection, and alienation. It must be remembered that, for many of the students, the history knowledge they learn from the school curriculum, school assigned textbooks, classroom instruction, and examinations are likely to be their major source of information about the subject.

Section 1 discusses school curriculum. A certain unhealthy political colonization, cultural imperialism, and social reproduction characterize the history curriculum in the secondary schools of Hong Kong. Despite the two separate history subjects, the history of Hong Kong is completely excluded. If history learning is to enable students to grasp perspectives in knowing their civilization and its future destiny, what counts as school history in Hong Kong is then the creation of an image that Hong Kong as a Colony exists in a historical vacuum. Students are molded to skepticism if Hong Kong has a history, or a history worthy of study. The intentional negation of Hong Kong history creates a denigration of native culture. It is no wonder why the youths in Hong Kong complain of their identity crisis and call themselves 'the rootless generation.'

In section 2, I focuse on two aspects of school knowledge acquisition: textbook learning and classroom instruction. It is pointed out that the use of textbooks and teachers' activities in classroom cannot be explained in terms of teachers' knowledge about subject matter or their teaching ideologies alone. Rather, they must be seen as the product of the relationship with extra school forces.

Section 3 reveals that the examination system occupies a central position in the educative process. Given the centrality of the examination system and the ambiguity in the requirement of students' answers, the rituals of taking the examination helps process school knowledge and schooled people. The hidden meaning of a rigorous and highly selective examination system, as discussed by the new sociologists, is not simply a matter of recalling and showing what an individual student knows. Rather, it is a form of acceptance to the authority and knowledge perspectives of those in power and prestige. The examination is a procedure which makes the individual student an object of manipulation and an object to be managed by school authority.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

It is important to reassert that this research is essentially interpretive. The interpretation on colonial schooling is largely a reflection of my own experience as a student and a teacher for the past twenty years. In the course of reconsidering and reconceptualiziang these experiences, I am profoundly ambivalent and dissatisfied with the prevailing educational practices and the definitions of knowledge. Exploration of this ambivalence and dissatisfaction has been my greatest concern throughout the study. Owing to this, I reject the use of structural functionalism and empiricism as research methodology which see educational research as consensus and discovery of universal truth that govern human behavior. Therefore, I explore a hermeneutic-interpretive paradigm in this research.

Speaking about the colonial situation, Paulo Freire refers to it as a culture of violence and a culture of silence (Clignet, 1984:84). Culture of violence refers to the conflict relationship between the colonized and the colonizers; culture of silence is the state of the colonized's reaction toward violence. The context of violence and silence in which the British colonizers and the Chinese colonized encounter and interact with each other, as important as it might be to understanding the educational structures, is the central concern in Chapter II, 'The Colony, The Colonizers, And The Colonized.' Life itself is contradictory experience. Contradictions arise from time-space matrixes, social relations, cultural conditions, and in the daily routines of living. With the culture of violence and silence as the shaping context, the 'living' in school constitutes, for the majority of students and teachers, the major kind of contradictory experience in life.

Chapter III is the review of literature which includes the Marxist critique of schooling, the political economy of education, the new sociology of education, and educational colonialism. These four areas are used because they locate the practice of a critical and reflexive educational system within a critique of domination and a commitment to struggle in the interest of a better world. These are the primary purposes of the research.

The seven research questions can be categorized into two kinds of concerns: (1) the colonial education policies and practices, and (2) the consequences of these policies and practices. In asking about what and why policies and practices come into being, it is manifested in the documentary analysis that the notion of education in Hong Kong is narrow, highly specialized, and vocational in outlook. In the four government papers examined in Chapter IV, education is often identified as a political enterprise and human resources development. Education is regarded by the Hong Kong Government as important in the sense of achieving social homogenity and solving the problem of community. Schooling is conceived by the Government as indispensable in imparting technical knowledge and skills to students for their performance of work roles, and in the molding of students' readiness to work and to adjust to the social and bureaucratic order of the firm.

The attitudinal change of government toward education can be viewed in the same light. The importance of change from a non-commital attitude to a state of supervision over schooling for the securing of capitalist and colonial society is identified in Chpater IV. Voluntary attendence is replaced by compulsory schooling through legal coercion. The meaning of compulsory schooling is not exclusively explained by the assumption that the state has the power to produce certain kinds of individual personalities. It seems that the more important political functions of the educational system consist of preventing the development of possible needs and capabilities of youth which might oppose the existing society. It is not surprising then that the vocabularies of 'citizenship' and 'outlook homogenity' often appear in the four documents.

The third research question asks about how the colonial education policies and practices are maintained within the bureaucracy of education. The question is examined partly in Chapters V and VI. Through the exploration of the schooling condition inside and outside the classroom, many of the educational practices are made problematic. In one way or another, all the practices have one common element. This element is the rationality of control. I do not view the educational problems as administrative concerns. Nor are they incidental and technical issues. Rather, the problems are instances of the economic, social, cultural, and political conflicts inherent in colonial society. In discussing the authority of school and teacher-student relationship, I intend to see teachers as mentors and not masters in the sense of having unlimited power over the students. The ultimate authority of school and the power to punish students are vested in the inherent and political nature of the educational system itself. This nature is hegemonic in one sense and legitimized in another.

In the discussion of development and changes of educational policies and practices in relation to changes in the social structural forces of the Colony, three educational policy trends are identified. They are (1) the gradual expansion of primary education, (2) increasing state intervention in educational matters, and (3) a more specialized and vocational outlook of education. Despite the policy changes, the pedagogies within classroom situations remain essentially the same. The argument is supported in Chapter V which is a micro analysis of the critical context of education in classroom situations. The general environment of the school building, the learning landscape of the classroom, the pupil control structure and ideology within the school manifest the fact that school is rarely a pleasant place. The school authority may realize the fact as well. There is extraordinary emphasis placed on control at the expense of teaching. This explains why a common form of punishment in school is forcing students to stay after school, thus lengthening their period of confinement. The practice also reflects the recognition by school staff that schoolwork is not a pleasant activity.

Yet, the school and teacher's power to punish and to exercise control are seldom questioned. The concern, as I have suggested in Chapters IV, V, and VI, has to be considered in reference to the essence of colonial rule, the requirement of capitalist economy, the Confucian philosophy of life in the minds of the general public, the social ideology and background of teachers, parents, and students, and the nature of education itself.

The dynamics of colonial schooling are explicated in the course of investigating the consequences of educational colonialism in Hong Kong. The fifth research question asks about how the educational policies and practices affect the students, society, and the culture of the colonized; and the sixth question asks about the reverse effects on the currciulum and educational system by the colonized people. The rigorous and highly selective curriculum is intended to keep students busy and out of trouble. The use of English as the instructional medium, the use of particular kinds of textbooks, and the use of certain pedagogical approaches are impositions of an alien culture upon the colonized.

Attempts are made by students to play 'whitey.' In the school, the whitey reduction is attempted in terms of adopting English names, conversing with people in English, and devaluing the mother culture. The educational sytem and structures are accepted. The notion of inner growth in education is translated into 'learning to accept reality.' One of the many significant consequences of the colonized people upon the educational system is the acceptance and consensus of the academic curriculum. Parents, teachers, and students are pushing hard for the access to a Western literacy/academic education because of individual mobility aspirations.

Many tragic consequences or social problems directly or indirectly result from the educational structures. Increasing child abuse cases are reported owing to the discrepancies between students' low achievement at school and parents' and teachers' high expectations. The self-concept of Hong Kong students is comparatively low. Pessimism over one's future is increasing while violent behavior has increased among the younger generation. Given the rigorous academic standard and the highly custodial school structure, those unsuccessful examinees under the various examination system will take on a stable meaning of 'unsuitable' or 'unwilling' to attend school. With this categorization and typification, the problem of insufficient school places and the keen competition and professionalism in currciulum have hardened and become reified.

Chapter VI is concerned with the politics of school knowledge. It is intended primarily to illustrate the complex relationship and dilemmas between the colonizers and the colonized within the educational sector. As the discussion of why school history emerges in the way it does, I believe more strongly that school sells a particular kind of knowledge which has undergone strict censorship before being sent out to students. Through classroom pedagogy and the rituals of taking examinations, students have learned that authority and knoweldge are bound together. School knowledge represents a particular view of knowledge assumed by the Hong Kong Education Department, the Hong Kong Examination Authority, and the Hong Kong Government. The knowledge perspective is accepted by teachers and students, which irrevocably separates knowledge production or participation from students and teachers.

The problems in history education of Hong Kong, and secondary education in general, are not just problems of curricular or administrative reforms. These problems have their origins and resolution in the unique colonial society of Hong Kong and its transformation. Given the complex nature of the origins and resolutions of the problems, it is difficult for me to draw the different implications for further research or practices. However, I hope that this research has relevance to students, teachers, parents, educators, and colonial education administrators in terms of ideological orientation or educational reform, and will play a part in persuading various concerned people to recognize their contribution in the struggles of better educational development and change.

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